

ISLAM IN THE MALAY WORLD : AL-FALIMBAN'S SCHOLARSHIP

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

*To My beloved late father, Pehin Penyurat Haji Awang Ahmad bin
Pehin Jawatan Dalam Haji Awang Mohammad Yusof (d.1436/2015),
May Allah sanctify his soul and bless him.*



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Chapter 3

Al-Falimbānī's Formation of a Scholarship

Introduction

Examining 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's list of teachers and students enables us to extract further information regarding his intellectual life and scholarly activities. However, as already indicated in the first chapter, only a few of al-Falimbānī's teachers are known to contemporary scholarship, the most famous among these teachers are Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im ad-Damanhūrī, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī. On the other hand, from al-Falimbānī's own writings and his *isnāds*, I have been able to trace the names of numerous other teachers and students of his, mostly unknown to contemporary studies. Therefore, to adequately study this aspect, I have divided this part of this study into two chapters. Chapter Three (this one) contains a thorough analytical survey of all his known teachers in the Arabian Peninsula and based on previously unknown evidence and surveys his teachers in Egypt and Damascus, and Chapter Four offers a critical survey of his known students, on the basis of my research.

It is also important to point out that by examining al-Falimbānī's extensive teacher-student links in the scholarly networks, not only we can learn his connection with the '*ulamā*' of his period, but we can also assess his key position in this network, the important role he played in transmitting Islamic religious sciences, and thus, his important contribution to Islamic scholarship and learning in both the Arab and Malay worlds. Furthermore, from his teacher-student links and *isnāds*, we are also able to classify and analyse the range and extent of various Islamic religious disciplines he studied with each teacher such as *fiqh*,

ḥadīth, *tafsīr*, *taṣawwuf*, etc, the intellectual ideas transmitted to him, and the influence of each individual teacher on him.

The methodology applied in these two chapters is to trace his teachers and students from his own writings and *isnāds*, and to supplement this by looking up each individual teacher and student through the enormous range of biographical dictionaries, a crucial category of sources consulted for this study. I hope that this part of the book as well as the final chapter on al-Falimbānī's writings will provide us with a better understanding of his scholarly life, his significant role in the scholarly networks and his contribution to Islamic scholarship and will assist further in the reconstruction of a more comprehensive and accurate intellectual biography of him.

Al-Falimbānī's Learning Centres in the Arabian Peninsula

As noted above, only a few of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad's teachers have been identified in contemporary studies so far. However, a comprehensive survey of all available sources, including his own writings, biographical accounts written on him, as well as his *isnāds*, reveal more than thirty scholars found to have teacher-student connections with al-Falimbānī, most of whom were unknown to previous studies. Nevertheless, this research does not claim to have covered all of al-Falimbānī's teachers, as these names are based on my findings in the currently known and available sources for this study.

There is no doubt that examining the biographies of both 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's teachers and students provides us with crucial information and has helped us to resolve a number of issues surrounding his life such as his dates of birth and death, his family, his travels and his scholarly life.

Among his most famous teachers, two are already known to contemporary scholars. These are Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, whom he considered his spiritual guide, and Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im ad-Damanhūrī, whose lectures he attended and noted down in *Zahrat al-Murīd*. Apart from these two teachers, we can extract from his

own works that he also studied with other leading scholars of his time. These include, in Mecca: 'Aṭā' Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī al-Makkī, 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Muḥammad Hilāl al-Makkī; in Medina: 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Umarī al-Maghribī, Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar Khān al-Madanī, 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Qāsim better known as 'al-'Ālim aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Hindī al-Madanī, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī; and in aṭ-Ṭā'if: 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī. Moreover, his own Yemeni disciple, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, in addition to the above-mentioned 'Aṭā' [Allāh] al-Miṣrī and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī also lists other teachers of al-Falimbānī. They include Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs, Muḥammad Mirdād and Muḥammad al-Jawharī.¹ Furthermore, both al-Qannūjī and al-Bayṭār, in addition to the list provided by al-Ahdal, also record another scholar with whom al-Falimbānī studied, namely Muḥammad Murād.² However, it is not clear where he met these last six listed teachers.

Above all, al-Fādānī's numerous *isnād* writings enable us to further trace al-Falimbānī's teachers. The rest of the scholars with whom al-Falimbānī also studied include '*ulamā'*' of Yemen such as Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, Aḥmad Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal, Amr Allāh b. 'Abd al-Khālīq al-Mizjājī, Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Hajjām, and Mushayyakh b. Zayn Bā 'Ubūd. In fact, all five of them are from Zabīd. His Meccan teachers include Sālim al-Baṣrī and 'Umar b. Aḥmad as-Saqqāf al-'Alawī, in addition to the above-mentioned teachers extracted from his own writings. Adding further to the above list of Arab teachers, al-Falimbānī also studied with *Jāwī* '*ulamā'*' such as 'Āqīb b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī, Muḥammad Zayn b. Faqīh Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Ashī, and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī, as made evident from some of al-Fādānī's writings.

As already indicated, we know that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī spent at least thirty-five years studying in Arabia. Moreover, the fact that almost all of his known teachers and other learned associates figure prominently in Arabic biographical dictionaries and other Arabic writings indicates the indisputable prominence of al-Falimbānī's intellectual background. In what follows, I discuss his teachers according to location in and outside the Arabian Peninsula.

Zabīd, Yemen

As far as I can ascertain, the evidence shows that the first teacher of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī in the Arab world was the Yemeni scholar, Yaḥyā al-Ahdal (1073-1147/1662-1734).³ His full name is 'Imād ad-Dīn Yaḥya b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Maqbūl b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥya b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. as-Sayyid ash-Shaykh al-Kabīr Abī Bakr 'Alī (better known by the surname al-Ahdal) b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. 'Ubayd b. 'Īsā b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamḥām b. 'Awn b. Musā al-Kāẓim b. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. al-Ḥusayn as-Sibt b. Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. He is described further as al-Maqbūl al-Ahdal al-Ḥusaynī ash-Shāfi'ī az-Zabīdī al-Yamanī. He was evidently an important scholar in the distinguished al-Ahdal family.⁴ His genealogy is traced back to Ḥusayn son of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib ^{radīallāhu 'anhu} and Fāṭimah, and the Prophet SAW. He was born in the village of ad-Durayhimī in the municipality of Wādī Rimāl, Yemen, where he grew up and memorised the Qur'ān at an early age. Later, he migrated to the city of Zabīd, where he memorised Abū al-Qāsim ash-Shātibī's (d. 590/1194) *matn* (text) of *ash-Shātibīyyah*, a versification of Abū 'Amr ad-Dānī's (d. 444/1052) compendium of the 'Seven Readings' of the Qur'ān (*al-qirā'at as-sab'ah*); and the *al-Alfiyyah* of Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1273), the one thousand verse didactic poem covering the entire rules of Arabic grammar.⁵

Better known as Yaḥyā b. 'Umar al-Ahdal, he was a *faqīh*, *mufasssīr* (Qur'ān exegete), *muḥaddith* of Yemen and the *muftī* of the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence in Zabīd. His grandson 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal described him as the 'sole leader of the time and as peerless' (*waḥīd 'aṣrihi wa-farīd miṣrihi*) especially in *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and *qirā'āt*. His student, Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Khalīl az-Zabīdī (d. 1263/1846), who later became a prominent scholar in Zabīd, wrote a separate biographical account about him in his *al-Manhaj al-'adal fī Sharḥ Mawlid al-Ahdal*.⁶ According to him, Yaḥyā al-Ahdal was a leading scholar and an expert in virtually every aspect of the Islamic Sciences, who grasped the *mantūq* (external meaning) and *maṣhūm* (implied meaning) of these sciences. However, though Yaḥyā al-Ahdal was an expert in various branches of

Islamic sciences, it was in *ḥadīth* and its sciences that he became most outstanding. He was thus called the *ḥāfiẓ al-‘aṣr* (the most reliable specialist of *ḥadīth* of the age) and *muḥaddith al-iqlīm* (the *muḥaddith* of Yemen). His memorization and deep knowledge of *ḥadīth* is something that no one could precisely describe. Apart from memorising nearly the whole of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, he was generally well versed in the knowledge (*ma‘rifat*) of *ḥadīth*, both the narration (*riwāyah*) and understanding (*dirāyah*), the study of the transmitters of *ḥadīth* (*rijāl al-ḥadīth*), various lines of transmission (*isnāds*) and the categories and status of *ḥadīth*. He was regarded as the ‘leading authority of his period’ (*imām ahl zamānihi*) and was given precedence over his peers.⁷

Yaḥyā al-Ahdal’s Yemeni teachers include prominent scholars such as Abū Bakr b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baṭṭāḥ al-Ahdal (d. 1099/1687), from whom he inherited his *ḥadīth* knowledge, grammar and jurisprudence and received the ‘superior *isnād*’ (*al-isnād al-‘ālī*), which, according to ash-Shawkānī, was the ‘highest *isnād*’ in the whole of Yemen. This is evident in his *thabat* entitled *Majmū‘ fī ‘l-Asānīd*, which ash-Shawkānī regards as a priceless work and anyone who came after him studying *ḥadīth* were indebted to him and considered his pupils.⁸ His student, Qāḍī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Qāṭin (d. 1199/1785), wrote a biographical account of al-Ahdal in his *Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān bi-Sanad Sayyid Walad ‘Adnān*, and eulogised him as the ‘seal of the *ḥadīth* scholars’ (*khātimat al-muḥaddithīn*) and the ‘leader of Those of Gnosis’ (*imām al-‘Arifīn*).⁹

In addition to Abū Bakr al-Baṭṭāḥ, al-Ahdal also studied *ḥadīth* with a group of *ḥuffāz* (reliable specialists of *ḥadīth*) such as the Qāḍī Ṣafī ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Ja‘mān az-Zabīdī (d. 1110/1698), with whom he studied *ḥadīth* books including *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, and *fiqh* books of ash-Shāfi‘ī *Madhhab* including *al-Minhāj*, *Fatḥ al-Wahhāb* and *al-Irshād*. With the excellent reciter of the Qur‘ān, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Mizjāḥī az-Zabīdī, whom he calls ‘Shaykh al-Qurrā’,¹⁰ he studied *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, *al-Qirā‘at as-Sab‘ah*, as-Suyūṭī’s *al-Itqān fī ‘Ulūm al-Qur‘ān*, among other works.

During his visit to Mecca to perform the *ḥajj* in 1106/1695, Yaḥyā al-Ahdal took the opportunity to study with the ‘*ulamā’* of *al-Ḥaramayn*. They include among others, ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (1049-1134/1639-1722), Aḥmad an-Nakhli (1040-1130/1630-1717), Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-‘Ujaymī

(1049-1113/1639-1701), with whom he studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in 1107/1695, and Aḥmad at-Tanīlī al-Maghribī al-Madanī. All of them eventually granted him their *ijāzah*.¹⁰ It is worth noting that these *al-Ḥaramayn* scholars were students of leading scholars of the early seventeenth century, including the Egyptian *muḥaddith* Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Bābilī al-Qāhirī (1000-77/1591-1666), the two prominent Maghribī scholars, 'Isā b. Muḥammad al-Ja'farī ath-Tha'ālibī al-Maghribī and later al-Makkī (1020-80/1611-69) and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān ar-Raddānī al-Maghribī (1037-94/1626-83), and the two renowned *'ālim* and *Ṣūfīs* of Medina, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qushāshī (991-1071/1538-1661) and his disciple who later became his *khalīfah*, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1025-1101/1616-90).¹¹ Yaḥyā al-Ahdal's connections with these scholars are evident from his *isnāds*.¹² According to al-Fādānī, apart from *Majmū' fī 'l-Asānīd*, he also authored a *thabat* entitled *al-Badr al-Akmal fī Asānīd as-Sayyid Yaḥyā b. 'Umar Maqbūl al-Ahdal* where he listed his teachers and the works he studied with them along with his *isnāds* to these works.¹³ He died in Zabīd on 14th Rabī' al-Ākhir 1147/13th September 1734 at the age of seventy-four.

Yaḥyā al-Ahdal had such high standing as a scholar and notable person that he was qualified to resolve differences. He mediated in the dispute on the permissibility of constructing buildings on Endowment lands belonging to the main mosque in Zabīd. He wrote his *al-Qawl as-Sadīd fī mā Uḥditha min 'l-'Imārah bi-Jāmi' Zabīd* on this question. As a distinguished scholar of *fiqh*, *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*, and on the basis of his understanding of the juristic proofs (*dalīl*) from the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, he was able to make his own independent *ijtihād* (legal reasoning), to the extent that some of the followers of the Shāfi'ī *Madhhab* accused him of deviation from the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence. The *amīr* of Zabīd stood in awe of him because he proclaimed the truth with audacity and vehemence and was insistent upon enjoining virtue. He seemed to have chosen to live an ascetic life despite being endowed with wealth and possessions. He regularly reminded his disciples during his lectures of the Prophetic SAW saying: "be like a stranger in the world, or as a passerby on the road" (*kun fī 'd-dunya kaannaka gharīb aw 'ābir sabīl*), and he exhorted them to reject worldly pleasures and temptations.¹⁴

As he was the most prominent *muḥaddith* and *‘ālim* in Yemen of his time and possessed the *al-isnād al-‘ālī*, it is not surprising that he attracted students not only from Bilād ash-Shām (Greater Syria) and al-Ḥijāz but also from far and beyond to attend his *ḥalaqaḥs*. His local Yemeni students, especially from Zabīd, according to al-Qannūjī, constituted the great majority of distinguished figures or as he puts it *‘sawād ‘uyūn al-bilād.’*¹⁵ His best known disciples were, among others, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Maqbūl al-Ahdal (d. 1163/1749), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Qāṭin aṣ-Ṣan‘ānī (1118-99/1706-85), ‘Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān al-Jarhazī (1138-1201/1725-86), Muḥammad b. ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī (1102-80/1690-1766), and Amr Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī (d. 1207/1793).

We already know that al-Falimbānī attended his teaching sessions but only had the opportunity to study with him the works of al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1448), especially his collection of *ḥadīth* entitled *Bulūgh al-Marām min Adillat al-Aḥkām*, which deals with jurisprudence based on Qur’ān and *ḥadīth*.¹⁶ This presumably indicates that he only arrived and met al-Ahdal in the last years of the latter’s life. Otherwise, al-Falimbānī would have taken the opportunity to study with him other Islamic disciplines, on which he was known to have been an expert. Furthermore, it is clear that after Yaḥyā al-Ahdal’s death, al-Falimbānī continued to study with his disciple and nephew, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Maqbūl al-Ahdal.

The next teacher of al-Falimbānī in Yemen was [Ṣafī ad-Dīn] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar Sharīf Maqbūl ash-Shāfi‘ī al-Ahdal (1109-63/1697-1749). Born in the village of ad-Durayhimī, he later moved to Zabīd where he stayed and studied with his maternal uncle Yaḥyā al-Ahdal. Not only was he the maternal nephew of Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, but he was also one of his closest disciples. He regarded Yaḥyā al-Ahdal as one of his major teachers with whom he graduated and to whom he was affiliated, *‘shaykh at-takhrīj wa ‘l-intisāb.’*¹⁷

Aḥmad al-Ahdal inherited his maternal uncle’s knowledge, especially in the Islamic sciences of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*, so that he was also known as a *muḥaddith*. Other than *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*, he also mastered other Islamic disciplines including *‘ilm al-qirā’āt as-sab‘ah*, *fiqh*, *uṣūl*, *naḥw*, *ṣarf*, *al-mantiq* (logic), *al-ma‘ānī* (the science of meanings),

al-bayān (the science of rhetoric), *al-badī'* (the science of eloquence), *al-ḥisāb* (arithmetic), *al-jabr* (algebra), *al-falak* (astronomy) and *al-handasah* (geometry).

In addition to studying with Yahyā, Aḥmad al-Ahdal also studied directly with the latter's teachers, including the earlier mentioned Abū Bakr b. 'Alī al-Baṭṭāḥ al-Ahdal and Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Ja'mān. It is worth noting that the father of Aḥmad Ja'mān, Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Ja'mān az-Zabīdī (1014-96/1605-85), also a *Qāḍī*, was included among 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf al-Jāwī as-Sinkilī's teachers in Zabīd.¹⁸ Thus, this clearly reflects that al-Falimbānī was continuing the scholarly traditions of his *Jāwī* predecessors in his strive to acquire Islamic religious knowledge from the very heart of the Islamic epicentre and learning.

Apart from studying in Zabīd, Aḥmad al-Ahdal also travelled frequently to *al-Ḥaramayn*, especially to Mecca where he met and studied directly with 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī in Dhū al-Qa'dah, 1122/December 1710, and Aḥmad an-Nakhlī in Rabī' al-Awwal, 1123/April 1711.¹⁹ He once again travelled to Mecca in 1152/1739 where he met 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh Bā-Ḥusayn as-Saqqāf, from whom he received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi-yawm al-'īd* or 'the successive chain of the *ḥadīth* narrated on the festive day.'²⁰ While in Medina, Aḥmad al-Ahdal studied with Muḥammad Abū Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī (1081-1145/1670-1732), who in turn studied with his father Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī, both the aforementioned were seventeenth century renowned scholars in Medina and Mecca respectively.²¹

As a prominent scholar in Zabīd after his uncle Yahyā, obviously Aḥmad al-Ahdal had many students coming to study with him. Among them, apart from al-Falimbānī himself were the previously mentioned son of Yahyā, Sulaymān b. Yahyā al-Ahdal, Aḥmad and Qāsim, the sons of Sulaymān al-Hajjām, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Amīr (d. 1213/1798),²² and Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī (1140-1213/1727-98), who later became a teacher to two leading late eighteenth century scholars in Medina and Yemen, the Indian-born Medinese *muḥaddith* also known as 'Ḥāfiẓ of Ḥijāz,' Muḥammad 'Ābid as-Sindī al-Anṣārī al-Madanī (d. 1257/1841), and the famous Yemeni scholar, the *muḥaddith*, *faqīh* and reformer, *Qāḍī* Muḥammad b. 'Alī ash-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834).²³

Apparently, al-Falimbānī spent a relatively considerable time studying with Aḥmad al-Ahdal. As one can see from al-Falimbānī's own *isnāds*, his studies with him were extensive. He studied numerous Islamic sciences and read a number of works with him, including, among others, an-Nawawī's (d. 676/1277) *al-Minhāj*, *al-Majmū' Sharḥ al-Muḥadhdhab*, and *al-Īḍāḥ fī Manāsik al-Ḥajj*, al-Khaṭīb ash-Sharbīnī's (d. 977/1569) *Mughnī al-Muḥtāj Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, Muḥib ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭabarī's (d. 684/1295) *al-Qirā li-Qāsidī Umm al-Qurā*, Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Maḥallī's (d. 864/1459) *Kanz ar-Rāghibīn Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, Bā-Faḍl's (d. 918/1512) *al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥaḍramiyyah* and its commentary by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 974/1566), entitled *al-Minhāj al-Qawīm*, al-Āmidī's (631/1233) *al-Iḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām*, and Ibn al-Ḥājj's (d. 646/1249) *Muntahā as-Sūl wa 'l-Amal* on *uṣūl al-fiqh* (Principles of Islamic sacred law); Abū Bakr al-Ahdal's (d. 1035/1625) *al-Farā'id al-Baḥiyyah* on *qawā'id al-fiqh* (Maxims of Jurisprudence). All these works are on *fiqh*. On *ḥadīth*, he studied an-Nawawī's *al-Arba'ūn* and *Riyāḍ aṣ-Ṣāliḥīn*, and Zayn ad-Dīn al-'Irāqī's (d. 806/1403) *Alfiyyat al-Ḥadīth* on *'ulūm al-ḥadīth*; on *tafsīr*, he read al-Baghawī's (d. 516/1122) *Ma'ālim at-Tanzīl*; on theology, he read Burhān ad-Dīn an-Nasafī's (d. 537/1142) *al-'Aqā'id an-Nasafīyyah*; on grammar, he read the commentary or *sharḥ* of Ibn 'Aqīl (d. 769/1367) on the famous *al-Alfiyyah* of Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1273) and his *al-Musā'id 'alā Tashīl al-Fawā'id*, also a commentary on Ibn Mālik's *Tashīl al-Fawā'id wa-Takmil al-Maqāsid*, and three works by Ibn Hāshim (d. 761/1359): *Qaṭr an-Nadā*, *Shudhūr adh-Dhahab*, and *al-I'rāb 'an Qawā'id al-I'rāb*; all of these works are classics on *naḥw* and *ṣarf*.²⁴

It is certain that Aḥmad al-Ahdal possessed a thorough knowledge of various branches of Islamic disciplines. Al-Qannūjī points out that he was one of the few scholars in his time blessed by God with a perspicacious mind so that he could solve any complicated problem in virtually any discipline with ease.²⁵ Likewise, since al-Falimbānī was one of his students, he too must have, to some extent, inherited at least some of his thorough knowledge as can be expected from the above-mentioned Islamic discipline and the lists of highly esteemed books he studied with him.

Among the Yemeni teachers of al-Falimbānī, we must include Amr Allāh [Khawājah] b. 'Abd al-Khāliq b. az-Zayn b. Muḥammad Bāqī b. aṣ-Ṣiddīq b. 'Abd al-Bāqī b. aṣ-Ṣiddīq b. az-Zayn b. Ismā'il al-Mizjājī al-Ḥanafī az-Zabīdī al-Ash'arī,²⁶ who was the son of a leading Yemeni *muḥaddith*, 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī who died in 1152/1739.²⁷

Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī, like his father 'Abd al-Khāliq, was known mainly as a *muḥaddith*.²⁸ Though no available sources supply us with his year of birth, he was reported to have been a *mur'ammār* (long-lived). This is plausible as Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī received *ḥadīth* instruction directly from Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī who died in 1113/1701.²⁹ At the same time, later generations of scholars such as 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, who was born in 1179/1765, also shared this same teacher with al-Falimbānī as he was reported to have received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwalīyyah*,³⁰ highly from Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī.³¹ Furthermore, a contemporary and a student of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, the already mentioned renowned *muḥaddith* of Medina in the late eighteenth century, Muḥammad 'Ābid as-Sindī al-Madanī (1190-1257/1776-1841) himself, also met and studied with Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī.³² It is worth noting that Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī was one of the six teachers of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal included in his *aṭ-ṭabaqāt al-ūlā*, covering his Zabīd teachers who studied with his grandfather, Yaḥyā al-Ahdal. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal further relates that in 1202/1787, he and his schoolfellow, Sa'd ad-Dīn b. Sa'id al-Qarwānī, visited Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī and stayed with him for three days. During this time he read with him works on *ḥadīth* and *taṣawwuf* and received the transmission of *dhikr*, litany formula (*talqīn adh-dhikr*) for both the Qādiriyyah Order to be pronounced out loud (*jahran*) and that of the Naqshabandiyyah Order to be done silently (*sirran*). Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī in turn had received the *Ṣūfī* Order from Yaḥyā al-Ahdal who also dressed him in the *Ṣūfī* 'patched mantle' (*al-khirqat aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*).³³

Among Amr Allāh's teachers were his own father 'Abd al-Khāliq b. az-Zayn al-Mizjājī, Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal, and other Zabīd scholars of the latter's generations such as Sa'id al-Kabūdī and 'Abd al-Khāliq b. Abī Bakr al-Mizjājī (1100-81/1688-1768). His *al-Ḥaramayn* teachers included, among others in Medina, the prominent Indian *muḥaddith*, Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī

(d. 1163/1749), who himself was a student of 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 1134/1722) and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Hādī as-Sindī, better known as Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī al-Kabīr (d. 1138/1726). Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī was also a teacher of the famous Islamic theologian and reformer, founder of the Wahhābī movement, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1115-1206/1703-92).³⁴ Muḥammad Ḥayāt eventually granted Amr Allāh al-Mizjāḥī an *ijāzah* and handed him his *thabat* entitled *al-Wijāzah fī 'l-Ijāzah*. In Mecca Amr Allāh studied with, among others, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd better known as Ibn 'Aqīlah (d. 1150/1737), a well-known *muḥaddith* who authored a famous work on *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal* (the traditions with a continuous chain of transmitters) entitled *al-Fawā'id al-Jalīlah fī Musalsalāt Ibn 'Aqīlah*.³⁵ According to al-Fādānī, both Amr Allāh al-Mizjāḥī and his teacher, Aḥmad al-Ahdal also studied with a *Jāwī* scholar who resided in Medina, namely 'Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī. As we shall see shortly, this *Jāwī* scholar was also one of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's own teachers in Medina.³⁶

In addition to receiving *ḥadīth* from his father, Amr Allāh al-Mizjāḥī possessed *isnāds* through his father that connected him with such scholars as Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaddād, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī and Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī al-Kabīr. Therefore, he was among the most sought-after in the *isnāds* of the scholarly networks during this period. Al-Fādānī tells us that Amr Allāh al-Mizjāḥī provided a comprehensive list of his teachers and *isnāds* in his concise *thabat* entitled *al-Qawl al-Munjī fī Thabat al-Mizjāḥī*.³⁷

According to 'Aydārūs al-Ḥabshī, Amr Allāh al-Mizjāḥī died in 1207/1793 and his student, Muḥammad 'Ābid as-Sindī relates that he was buried at at-Taḥīyyah, a well-known village outside Zabīd.³⁸

The last among the list of al-Falimbānī's known teachers in Yemen is Aḥmad b. Sulaymān [Abī al-Qāsim] b. Abī Bakr ['Umar Abakr] b. Sulaymān b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Abī al-Qāsim b. Abī Bakr b. Abī al-Qāsim b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Hajjām al-Ahdal al-Ḥusaynī al-Ahdalī az-Zabīdī.³⁹

There is no information on his dates of birth and death, but what we can derive from his life account is that he was a scholar from Zabīd and was reported to have been alive in 1212/1797. According to his student, Muḥammad 'Ābid as-Sindī in his *isnād* on receiving 'the tradition with

continuous chain for the *Ṣūfī* mantle' (*al-musalsal bi-ilbās al-khirqah aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*), Aḥmad al-Hajjām clothed him with his 'white turban' ('*imāmah bayḍā*') in 1212/1797 at al-Quṭay', a village in Yemen. Aḥmad al-Hajjām in turn had received it from his father Sulaymān al-Hajjām, who had received it from Yaḥyā al-Ahdal, who in turn had received it from the hand of his own teacher, the Meccan *Ṣūfī* and 'ālim Shaykh Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī. It should be noted in passing that Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī's *isnāds* demonstrate that he had extensive scholarly connections with earlier generations of prominent scholars and renowned *Ṣūfīs* who included among others, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, Aḥmad ash-Shinnāwī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha'rānī, Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, leading back to Ibn al-'Arabī, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and as far as the earliest *Ṣūfīs* al-Junayd al-Baghdādī, as-Sarī as-Saqāṭī, and Ma'rūf al-Karkhī.⁴⁰

Aḥmad al-Hajjām had studied, among others, with his own father Sulaymān, Aḥmad al-Ahdal, Aḥmad b. Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Idrīsī, 'Abd al-Khāliq b. Abī Bakr al-Mizjājī, Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī (d. 1180/1766) and Aḥmad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ashbūlī al-Miṣrī (d. 1173/1759).⁴¹ His teachers in turn studied with earlier generations of scholars such as 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad an-Nakhli, and Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.

His father, Sulaymān al-Hajjām, better known as 'Ṣāhib al-Quṭay'' (master or owner of al-Quṭay'), was also included by Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī among his numerous teachers in Zabīd, with whom he studied sections of an-Nawawī's *Riyāḍ aṣ-Ṣāliḥīn* and *at-Tibyān [fī Ādāb Ḥamalāt al-Qur'ān]* upon his arrival in al-Quṭay', Yemen in 1166/1752 when he attended his lectures and heard Aḥmad al-Hajjām read these works for the class in the presence of his father. As a sign of initiation into the *Ṣūfī* order, Sulaymān al-Hajjām dressed Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī with his *ṭāqīyah* (cap or headdress), instructed him in the *talqīn adh-dhikr* for the Qādiriyyah order, and later gave him his general *ijāzah*.⁴²

Obviously, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī was a contemporary to Aḥmad al-Hajjām as he further relates that both of them travelled from Zabīd to Bayt al-Faqīh in 1164/1750 where they studied with Sayyid Mashhūr [b. Mustarīḥ] al-Ahdal and received from him *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah*.⁴³ In addition, upon his father's instruction, Aḥmad al-Hajjām read Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Mas'ūd's *Kitāb Marāḥ [al-Arwāḥ]*, a

work on Arabic morphology with Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī together with other works that az-Zabīdī authored. As we shall see later, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī was also one of al-Falimbānī's teachers.

Among the works that al-Falimbānī read and studied with Aḥmad al-Hajjām were al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) *al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ*, and Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh's (d. 709/1309) *al-Ḥikam* (or the Aphorisms) and *at-Tanwīr fī Isqāṭ at-Tadbīr*, both renowned works on Ṣūfism.⁴⁴

Thus, it is obvious that al-Falimbānī had intensive contacts with Yemeni scholars, in particular, those from Zabīd and through them he further had extensive scholarly links not only to earlier generations of 'ulamā' of Yemen, but also of *al-Ḥaramayn* and Egypt.

Mecca

It appears that after studying in Yemen, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī continued his journey to study in *al-Ḥaramayn*. His known teachers in Mecca include many eminent scholars of the holy city at the time. Among them was [Abū al-Makārim] Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī ash-Shāfi'ī al-Makkī (d. 1160/1747), who was the son of the renowned Meccan *muḥaddith* 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Baṣrī al-Makkī (1049-1134/1639-1722), originally from Baṣrah, Iraq.⁴⁵ Though his biographer gives no information on his date of birth, Sālim was born in Mecca and most likely in the late seventeenth century.

Sālim al-Baṣrī, like his father, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, was known mainly as a traditionist *muḥaddith*. He studied mostly with his father and inherited his knowledge. Thus al-Ḥaḍrāwī remarks that 'God cast the *barakah* on his son' [Sālim], and likewise he was an authority in *ḥadīth* that he was known as a *muḥaddith* and *faqīh*.⁴⁶ It is important to note Mirdād's view that 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī was one of the three Meccan scholars who possessed '*uhw al-isnād* (superior *isnād*) which later generations of scholars from al-Ḥijāz, Yemen, Egypt and Syria generally include them in their *isnāds*,⁴⁷ and was also known as one of the 'seven *ḥadīth* experts of al-Ḥijāz' (*masānīd al-Ḥijāz as-sab'ah*).⁴⁸

Undoubtedly, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī had established the reputation of the al-Baṣrī family in scholarly circles in *al-Ḥaramayn*. Thus, through his father, Sālim al-Baṣrī was connected with such scholars as Shams

ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Bābilī (d. 1077/1666), Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Bashbīshī (d. 1096/1684), 'Isā b. Muḥammad ath-Tha'ālibī al-Maghribī (d. 1080/1669), 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad az-Zamzamī (d. 1072/1661), Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690), Zayn al-'Ābidīn (d. 1078/1667) and 'Alī (d. 1070/1659), both sons of 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad at-Ṭabarī (d. 1033/1624), and the *Qāḍī* Tāj ad-Dīn b. Aḥmad better-known as Ibn Ya'qūb (d. 1066/1656).⁴⁹ It is worth noting that most of these scholars were also teachers of al-Falimbānī's *Jāwī* predecessors such as 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī (1024-1105/1615-1693) and Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (1037-1111/1627-99), or at least had scholarly contacts with them.

Among Sālim al-Baṣrī's disciples apart from al-Falimbānī were the renowned *muhaddith* of Medina, Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī, who also studied directly with 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī;⁵⁰ Muḥammad b. Ṣādiq as-Sindī or Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī aṣ-Ṣaghīr (1125-87/1713-73), who was also a student of Ḥayāt as-Sindī. Moreover, the Islamic reformer who has been called 'the greatest intellectual Muslim India produced,' Shāh Walī Allāh Aḥmad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥīm ad-Dihlawī (1114-76/1703-62), had also met and studied with Sālim al-Baṣrī during his visit to al-Ḥijāz from 1143/1730 to 1145/1732.⁵¹ Shāh Walī Allāh in his hope to restore the '*ulamā*'s former power and influence had urged Muslim rulers to a *jihād* against the Maratha and Jat Bharatpur enemies of Islam.⁵²

Sālim al-Baṣrī died in Mecca and Mirdād quotes ash-Shaykh al-Qaṭṭān, who related in his *Tanzīl ar-Raḥmāt* that his death occurred on 2 Muḥarram 1160/14 January 1747, and that he was buried at the al-Ma'ālā burial ground in the Holy City. He was survived by his four sons: Ḥasan, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, Abū al-Faṭḥ and 'Abd al-Qādir; however, none of them, according to Mirdād, were learned ('*ālim*') or seekers of knowledge.⁵³ Therefore, from his year of death, we can deduce that al-Falimbānī, being his student, must have studied in Mecca with him before 1160/1747.

Al-Kattānī states that among Sālim al-Baṣrī's works was a *thabat* entitled *al-Imdād Bi-Ma'rifat 'Uluw 'l-Isnād*, an abridged version of his father's *thabat* carrying the same caption, completed in 1126/1714.⁵⁴ Among the works that al-Falimbānī studied and read with him were the *Sunan* of Ibn Mājah (d. 273/886), one of the major Six canonical *ḥadīth* books, and al-Jārabardī's (d. 746/1345) commentary on *ash-Shāfiyah*, a

work on Arabic morphology by the outstanding master grammarian Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1248).⁵⁵

The next teacher of al-Falimbānī in Mecca, Sayyid [Abū Ḥafṣ] 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Aqīl b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān 'Alī Bā 'Alawī b. 'Aqīl b. Abī Bakr as-Sakrān al-Ḥusaynī al-'Alawī al-Makkī ash-Shāfi'ī, better-known as as-Saqqāf (d. 1174/1760), was undoubtedly an important scholar in Mecca.⁵⁶

'Umar as-Saqqāf was the grandson of Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. 'Aqīl as-Saqqāf (d. 1074/1663), a student of the aforementioned famous Egyptian *muḥaddith* Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Bābilī. He was also the maternal grandson (*sibt*) of the above-mentioned eminent Meccan *muḥaddith* 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, who as we have already mentioned, was also a student of al-Bābilī.⁵⁷

Born in Mecca in 1102/1690, 'Umar as-Saqqāf studied with numerous scholars of *al-Ḥaramayn* and became an expert in various branches of Islamic knowledge, but was mainly known as a great *muḥaddith*. His student Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, eulogised him as '*al-imām al-muḥaddith al-musnid shaykh al-ḥadīth* in Ḥijāz, and the star of the religion (*najm ad-dīn*).'⁵⁸

In addition to studying with 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, 'Umar as-Saqqāf gained a great deal of benefit from eminent scholars in *al-Ḥaramayn*, such as Aḥmad an-Nakhlī, Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī, Tāj ad-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Qal'ī (d. 1149/1736) who was the *Qāḍī* and *muftī* of Mecca, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Abī Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīqī (d. 1138/1725), Ibn 'Aqīlah, Idrīs b. Aḥmad al-Yamānī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭanṭāwī (d. 1154/1741), and Muṣṭafā b. Faṭḥ Allāh al-Ḥamawī (d. 1124/1712) originally from Ḥamāh in Syria.⁵⁹ The latter, according to al-Kattānī was perhaps the master of the highest *isnād* among all of them.⁶⁰ Under the guidance of his maternal grandfather al-Baṣrī, in 1110/1698 at the age of eight, 'Umar as-Saqqāf received the *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah*, highly, from the Egyptian scholar Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ghanī ad-Dimyāṭī (d. 1117/1705 in Medina), better known as Ibn 'Abd al-Ghanī or al-Bannā'. In turn, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī later received this *ḥadīth* from 'Umar as-Saqqāf when he met him in Medina in 1163/1749. One year later, in 1164/1750, he adhered to him and devoted himself (*lāzama*) to studying with him in Mecca.⁶¹

Among 'Umar as-Saqqāf's students, other than al-Falimbānī and the aforementioned Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, were prominent scholars such as Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jawharī (1096-1182/1684-1768), who, as we shall see later, was also among al-Falimbānī's own Egyptian teachers, Ḥasan b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jabartī (1110-88/1698-1774), the father of the famous Egyptian historian 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, author of *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, and Shāh Walī Allāh ad-Dihlawī, who relates in his *al-Faḍl al-Mubīn fī 'l-Musalsal min Ḥadīth an-Nabī al-Amīn* that he received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwāliyyah* from 'Umar as-Saqqāf.⁶² It is important to note that Shāh Walī Allāh was also a disciple of Muḥammad Abū Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī (1081-1145/1670-1733), whom he met in Medina in 1112/1700 and regarded as one of his preferred teachers with whom he studied numerous *ḥadīth* books and received *isnāds* for each.⁶³ Abū Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī in turn studied with the 'five *musnids* of al-Ḥijāz' (*musnidi al-Ḥijāz al-khamsah*) of that generations: his own father, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī, 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad an-Nakhli, Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Ujaymī, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān ar-Rūdānī.⁶⁴

As for al-Falimbānī, it is through his study with 'Umar as-Saqqāf that he is connected directly to, and received the authority from him to transmit works from the prominent seventeenth century 'ulamā' of Mecca. These include 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī's *al-Imdād bi-Ma'rīfat 'Uluw al-Isnād*, Aḥmad an-Nakhli's *Bughyat at-Ṭālibīn li-Bayān al-Mashāyikh al-Muḥaqqiqīn al-Mu'tamidīn*, and the *thabat* of Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī compiled by his student Tāj ad-Dīn b. Aḥmad ad-Dahhān al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī (d. after 1160/1747) (also a teacher of 'Umar as-Saqqāf) entitled *Kifāyat al-Mutaṭalli' li-mā Ḥahara wa-Khafia min Ghālib Marwiyyāt al-Musnid ash-Shaykh Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Ujaymī al-Ḥanafī*.⁶⁵ Other works that al-Falimbānī studied and read with him include Ibn Mājah's *Sunan*, and the well known biographies of Hanbalites or *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah* by Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Farrā' al-Baghdādī (d. 458/1065).⁶⁶

Another important teacher of al-Falimbānī in Mecca was 'Aṭā' Allāh b. Aḥmad b. 'Aṭā' Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Azharī al-Miṣrī al-Makkī ash-Shāfi'ī, an Egyptian scholar who settled and died in Mecca.⁶⁷ None of his biographers gives us his date of birth, but he was born in Egypt and studied at al-Azhar with such scholars, among others, 'Alī ad-Darīr

al-Ḥanafī, Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmad al-‘Azīzī, ‘Ayd (or ‘Īd) b. ‘Alī an-Numrusī (d. 1140/1727), Aḥmad al-Khalīfī, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb at-Ṭanṭāwī and Muḥammad ash-Shinnāwī. It appears that sometime after completing his education in Egypt he migrated to *al-Ḥaramayn* or, in Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī’s terms, he resided there (*nazīl al-Ḥaramayn*) and was very active in teaching in both Mecca and Medina. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī also includes ‘Aṭā’ Allāh as one of his own numerous teachers and relates that he finally took up residence in Mecca (*tadayyara Makkah*) where he died in 1187/1773 at the age of ninety.⁶⁸ Thus, ‘Aṭā’ Allāh must have been born around 1097/1685.

The date of ‘Aṭā’ Allāh’s migration to Mecca is also unknown to his biographers. However, from al-Falimbānī’s account in his *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, we can deduce that he must have migrated to Mecca prior to 1178/1765, the year al-Falimbānī completed his work. This is evident from ‘Aṭā’ Allāh’s *nisbah* as al-Falimbānī tells us that among his teachers in Mecca, was Shaykh ‘Aṭā’ Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī al-Azharī and thenceforth (*thumma*) al-Makkī. Hence, he had already migrated to Mecca when al-Falimbānī studied with him.⁶⁹ In his *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, al-Falimbānī also frequently cites ‘Aṭā’ Allāh’s work entitled *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd fī Taḥqīq Kalimat at-Tawḥīd* (The Unique Necklace on Verification of the Expression of Monotheism), obviously one of his numerous works that he read with him. It is also evident that al-Falimbānī venerates him highly as he calls him “*shaykhunā al-‘ālim al-‘allāmah al-muḥaqqiq al-mudaqqiq*” [our deeply learned, meticulous and exacting master].⁷⁰ According to al-Falimbānī, in his *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, ‘Aṭā’ Allāh elaborates extensively the two levels of the doctrine of monotheism in Islam: *tawḥīd al-khawāṣṣ* (monotheism of the elite) and *tawḥīd khawāṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ* (monotheism of the elite of the elite).⁷¹ This clearly implies excluding the general public from getting involved in the discussion of this doctrine.

His students, other than Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī and al-Falimbānī, also included Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī aṣ-Ṣaghīr (d. 1187/1773), Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Fullānī (1166-1218/1752-1803), the West African *muḥaddith* who settled in Medina, and Sulaymān b. Yahyā al-Ahdal (d. 1197/1783).

‘Aṭā’ Allāh was a prolific author, and a scholar of certain intellectual importance in the scholarly circles. According to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī,

he is said to have written no less than fifty works most of them dealing with *al-ma'qūl* (rational sciences). His works include: *Manṭiq al-Ḥādīr wa 'l-Bādī wa-Maqṣad ar-Rāyih wa 'l-Ghādī*, *Maḥla' al-Burhān min Ṭawālī' al-Mizān*; both works on logic, *al-Qawl al-Mu'tabar fī 'Ilm al-Athar*, *Risālah fī Ādāb al-Baḥth* and *Tuḥfat Ahl al-'Aṣr bi 'l-Maḥlāt al-'Ashr*, *al-Uṣūl al-Muhimmah min Mawārith al-Ummah*, a copy of which written in his own handwriting dated 1186/1772, which was known to az-Zabīdī; *Nihāyat al-Ījāz fī 'l-Ḥaqīqat wa 'l-Majāz*, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Sharḥ Lāmiyat al-'Arab*,⁷² *Tuḥfat al-Khullān bi-Sharḥ Naṣīhat al-Ikhwān*, completed in 1170/1756; and *Nafḥat al-Jūd fī Waḥdat al-Wujūd*.⁷³ It is important to note that al-Falimbānī was one of the *Jāwī 'ulamā'*, as we shall see later, who eventually became an expert on the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (Oneness of Being) that he wrote a treatise on this topic entitled *Zād al-Muttaqīn*.

Another Meccan scholar whom al-Falimbānī mentioned in his *Zahrāt al-Murīd* and *Sayr as-Sālikīn* as his teacher was 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl al-Makkī.⁷⁴ He is [Zayn ad-Dīn] 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl b. Muḥammad Hilāl b. Muḥammad Sunbul ash-Shāfi'ī (d. 1212/1798), a *faqīh* and *muftī* of the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence in the Holy City.⁷⁵

Though no sources provide us with his year of birth, 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl was born in Mecca and studied with its *'ulamā'* and eventually became a renowned scholar there, especially as a *faqīh*. The most significant among his teachers were his own father, Muḥammad Hilāl (d. 1159/1746), who was a student of 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, his uncle, Muḥammad Sa'īd Sunbul (d. 1175/1761), the renowned author of *al-Awā'il as-Sunbuliyyah*, who was also the Shāfi'ī *muftī* of Mecca, and 'Umar al-Saqqāf (d. 1174/1760), the above mentioned maternal grandson of al-Baṣrī and teacher of al-Falimbānī.⁷⁶ 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl was appointed as the Shāfi'ī *muftī* in Mecca and students flocked to study with him. His students included prominent scholars of the following generation such as the Damascene *muḥaddith*, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Kuzbarī, better known as al-Kuzbarī aṣ-Ṣaghīr or al-Kuzbarī al-Ḥafīd (1184-1262/1770-1846), his own cousin, the Meccan *muḥaddith*, Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad Sa'īd Sunbul (d. 1218/1803), and Yāsīn b. 'Abd Allāh Mīrghānī (d. 1255/1839), the son of 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm

Mirghanī al-Mahjūb, a renowned *Ṣūfī* in at-Ṭā'if. The latter, as we shall see shortly, was also among al-Falimbānī's teachers.

According to al-Falimbānī, his teacher 'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl was among the '*ulamā*' of Mecca who attended the lectures of the visiting Egyptian Shaykh Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī during the *Ḥajj* in 1178/1765. Thus, al-Falimbānī must have studied with him prior to this time as he was already described as 'our master and teacher, the learned, and the praiseworthy' (*mawlānā wa-shaykhunā al-ʿālim al-fāḍil*).⁷⁷ Though we do not have any information on the subjects that al-Falimbānī studied with him or the works that he read with him, without doubt he must have taken the opportunity to study at least ash-Shāfi'ī's *fiqh* works with him since he was a *faqīh* and *muftī* of the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence in Mecca during that time. 'Abd al-Ghanī's *fiqh* influence on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī is strongly reflected in his works. For instance, on the question of silver *niṣāb* (*zakāt*) based on weight, al-Falimbānī chose 'Abd al-Ghanī's legal opinion over different scholarly rulings on the same issue.⁷⁸

'Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl died in Mecca. Mirdād points out that according to the handwriting of Muḥammad b. Ḥamīdah al-Makkī, he died on 21 Sha'bān 1212/8 February 1798 and was interred at al-Ma'lā. This, according to Mirdād was in accordance with his own finding in *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*.⁷⁹

One of the interesting teachers of al-Falimbānī in Mecca was the visiting Egyptian Shaykh Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī. [Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās] Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Yūsuf b. Ṣiām ash-Shāfi'ī al-Mālikī al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥanbalī ad-Damanhūrī al-Madhāhibī al-Azhari (1101-92/1690-1778), better known as Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī, was also evidently one of the most prominent figures in the scholarly circles during the eighteenth century. He was also known as *al-Madhāhibī* for his knowledge and authority in giving *fatwā* in all four Sunni legal schools of Islamic jurisprudence.⁸⁰

Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī was born in 1101/1690 in Damanhūr, Egypt. His student, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī relates that he came as a young orphan without support to study at al-Azhar. With diligence, he devoted himself to learning, and expanded his studies and accomplishments. The '*ulamā*' of the four schools of law granted him authorisation (*ijāzah*) to teach in

all four schools. He had an excellent memory and great knowledge and wrote on various branches of knowledge. He gave *fatwās* in accordance with the four schools but he did not put his scholarship and writings to good benefit because of his reluctance to impart them to his students, or to others. Sometimes he would impart useful points to some strangers. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī regularly attended his lectures at the Ḥusaynī Shrine (*al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī*) in Cairo, but he would admix them with anecdotes and tales of his experiences, to pass the time. After the death of Muḥammad b. Sālīm al-Ḥifnī (also known as al-Ḥifnāwī) in 1181/1767, also a teacher of Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī was appointed the rector of al-Azhar. The commanding officials (*umara'*) stood in awe of him because he zealously proclaimed the truth, insistent upon enjoining virtue and was generous with his possessions. Kings flocked to him from various regions and brought him sumptuous gifts. Other Egyptian officials, representing the government revered him. Although famous and held in high esteem, he was shy of public sessions and gatherings.⁸¹

Ad-Damanhūrī performed the *Hajj* with the official Egyptian contingent in 1177/1763. The Sharīf and 'ulamā' of Mecca came to visit him. He returned to Egypt and Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Adkāwī (d. 1184/1770) extolled him in a poem to congratulate him on this occasion. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī relates that he visited him on Shawwāl 1179/March 1766, in his dwelling in Būlāq, where he kept company with him. He received the *ijāzah* from Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī who handed him his *thabat* entitled *al-Laṭā'if an-Nūriyyah fī 'l-Minaḥ ad-Damanhūriyyah*.⁸² According to Khawqīr, he is also said to have compiled another *thabat* entitled *al-Kawākib az-Zāhirah fī Āthār Ahl 'l-Ākhirah*, which has not been recovered.⁸³

At the end of his life, ad-Damanhūrī became very ill and was confined to his home. He passed away on Sunday, 10 Rajab 1192/4 August 1778. Funeral rites were held at al-Azhar Mosque with an overflow of mourners. His genealogy was read (he was believed to have been the progeny of Abū Muḥammad al-Baṭṭal al-Ghāzī, a famous Arab Muslim warrior of the third/ninth century) and he was interred in the cemetery of al-Bustān.⁸⁴

In the *al-Laṭā'if an-Nūriyyah*, Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī devotes long passages to providing the list of teachers with whom he studied, the titles

of books he studied, along with the *isnāds* for each of them and the *ijāzahs* that he received from his teachers. He states that he studied the *fiqh* books of the four *madhabs* in the following order: ash-Shāfi'iyyah, followed by al-Ḥanafīyyah, then al-Mālikīyyah and finally al-Ḥanābilah. His teachers include Shāfi'i scholars such as 'Abd Rabbih b. Aḥmad ad-Dīrī, whom he describes as the 'the most knowledgeable in Shāfi'i *fiqh*', 'Abd ad-Dā'im al-Ajhūrī, and 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf al-Bashbīshī. Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad as-Salamūnī al-Mālikī, the Shaykh of Malikiyyah who granted him *ijāzah* dated 16th Ramaḍān 1139/6th May 1727. The *Faqīh* Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz az-Zayādī al-Ḥanafī granted him *ijāzah* in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1140/July 1728, and Aḥmad b. 'Awaḍ al-Mirdāwī al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī granted him *ijāzah* on 3rd Rabī' al-Ākhir 1140/18th November 1727.⁸⁵

Though ad-Damanhūrī was an Egyptian scholar, it is clear from al-Falimbānī's *Zahr al-Murīd* that he studied with him during the above stated visit to Mecca for the pilgrimage.⁸⁶ However, it is not impossible that al-Falimbānī also studied with him during his own journey and study in Egypt. In addition, al-Falimbānī points out that several Egyptian scholars also attended ad-Damanhūrī's lectures in Mecca. They included Aḥmad b. Aḥmad as-Siblāwī, better known as Razzah (or Ruzzah) (d. 1180/1766),⁸⁷ and Muḥammad al-Fāris ash-Shāfi'i al-Miṣrī.⁸⁸ It is not improbable that al-Falimbānī took the opportunity to study with or at least consult them during their stay in Mecca, especially since we know he recognised them as having knowledge and eulogized both as '*al-ālim al-fāḍil*'.

It is evident that Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī was known as a prolific author on numerous subjects including *fiqh* or, in az-Ziriklī terms, he was one of the Egyptian scholars who were "*al-mukthirīn min 'l-taṣānīf fī 'l-fiqh wa-ghayrih*."⁸⁹ Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī provides thirty-five titles, adding that he also wrote numerous small epistles which were not included in his list,⁹⁰ while Brockelmann lists twenty-nine of his works.⁹¹ Most of his works deal with *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, *tawḥīd*, *manṭiq*, *bayān*, *tafsīr*, *mawā'iz* (sermons), *kalām* and *taṣawwuf*. They include *Kitāb Subul ar-Rashād ilā Nafa' al-'Ibād* completed in 1162/1748, *Īḍāḥ al-Mushkilāt min Matn al-Istī'ārāt*, on metaphor, *Irshād al-Māhir ilā Kanz al-Jawāhir*, on the 'science of letters and names' ('*ilm al-ḥurūf wa 'l-asmā'*), *Īḍāḥ*

al-Mubham min Ma'ānī as-Sullam on logic, a *fiqh* work on the Ḥanafī School of Islamic jurisprudence entitled *Ṭarīq al-Ihtidā' bi-Aḥkām al-Imāmah wa 'l-Iqtidā'*, and *Ḥilyat al-Lubb al-Maṣūn 'alā 'l-Jawhar al-Maknūn*, on rhetoric.⁹² Other works which were not listed by his biographers include his *Tahṣīl al-Marām bi 'd-Duā'* 'alā 'd-Dawām, and *al-Qawl al-Mufīd li-Ma'ānī Durraṭ at-Tawḥīd*,⁹³ and a work on issues pertaining to the demolition of churches in Cairo.⁹⁴ Al-Falimbānī mentioned some of the above listed works in his *Zahrat al-Murīd*, which without doubt indicates that he had read them directly with Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī.⁹⁵

An important Meccan teacher of al-Falimbānī was [Abū al-Fawz] Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd as-Salām ar-Ra'īs az-Zubayrī az-Zamzamī al-Makkī (d. 1195/1781).⁹⁶ According to the biographical notice on his son Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (1187-1240/1773-1824), his lineage links him to az-Zubayr, a prominent companion of the Prophet SAW.⁹⁷ Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī was born in Mecca in 1110/1698 and evidently was a prominent scholar from the Zamzamī family.⁹⁸

Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī's teachers included Ibn 'Aqīlah, Sayyid 'Umar as-Saqqāf, Sālim al-Baṣrī, 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Miṣrī, Muḥammad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib al-Maghribī (1110-70/1698-1756), Aḥmad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ashbūlī, with whom he and Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī attended lessons on as-Suyūṭī's *al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḡhīr*, 'Abd Allāh Mīrghānī and 'Abd al-Waḥhāb aṭ-Ṭanṭāwī al-Aḥmadī. He also studied with visiting scholars to Mecca such as the Egyptians 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir ash-Shubrāwī (1094-1171/1682-1757), 'Umar ad-Da'ūjī, and Aḥmad al-Jawharī (1096-1182/1684-1768). Most of these scholars were also among al-Falimbānī's teachers as we can see elsewhere in this chapter.

Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī describes Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī as the eloquent (*al-faṣīḥ*, *al-mufawwah*), *Imām* and the *mua'qqit al-Ḥaram* (the scholar of astronomy charged with establishing the exact prayer times) adding that he was well versed in various religious sciences. He was initiated into the Naqshabandiyyah Order through his master 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydārūs who wrote an epistle in his name entitled *Risālat al-Bayān wa 't-Ta'līm li-Muttaḥibī Millat Ibrāhīm*, granting him his *ijāzah* and providing his *isnād* in the colophon. He was also initiated into the Khalwatiyyah Order⁹⁹ by Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī who eventually appointed him as his *khalīfah*

for the opening of *dhikr* gatherings and the recitation of his midnight litany (*Wird as-Sahar*).¹⁰⁰ Under the guidance of the father of the Egyptian historian, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, Ḥasan al-Jabartī (1110-88/1698-1774) during his sojourn in Mecca (1155/1742), Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī was able to master '*ilm al-falak* (astronomy).¹⁰¹ In 1176/1762, after the death of 'Abd al-Wahhāb at-Ṭabarī, Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī was appointed the new *mufī* of the Shāfi'i School of Islamic jurisprudence in Mecca.¹⁰² His son, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (d. 1240/1824) who was also one of Dāwūd al-Faṭānī's teachers, a younger contemporary of al-Falimbānī, also became the *mufī* of Mecca later.

We have seen that Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī was a contemporary and a close friend of the famous Egyptian scholar, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī. Their close relationship is evident from the fact that they exchanged *ijāzahs* and corresponded regularly, and upon his request, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī sent him his exposition of al-Ghazālī's *al-Iḥyā'* entitled *Iḥāf as-Sādat al-Muttaqīn* from Egypt in 1194/1780.¹⁰³ Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī died in Mecca on 17 Rabī' al-Awwal 1195/13 March 1781 and was interred at al-Ma'īlā.¹⁰⁴

The last scholar in the list of al-Falimbānī's teachers in Mecca mentioned by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal was al-'Allāmah Muḥammad Mirdād.¹⁰⁵ My research on Muḥammad Mirdād in several biographical dictionaries of the period under study points to Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad Mirdād al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī (d. 1205/1790).¹⁰⁶ He was born in Mecca where he grew up and studied with al-Ḥaramayn scholars. He studied the art of recitation (*qirā'at*) with Shaykh 'Umar b. 'Alī (who was blind but whose heart was enlightened '*al-baṣīr bi-qalbih*') al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī and studied *ḥadīth* with al-'Allāmah al-Muḥaddith Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī aṣ-Ṣagīr al-Madanī al-Ḥanafī; with *ash-Shaykh al-Muḥaddith* Muḥammad al-Muṣayliḥī aḍ-Ḍarīr al-Miṣrī, and al-'Allāmah 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ḥusayn al-Fattanī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī. All of these granted Mirdād their *ijāzah*. Muḥammad Mirdād was later appointed as the *Imām* (prayer leader) and *Khaṭīb* (orator) of the Sacred Mosque of Mecca. Since he was an *Imām* who mastered the art of recitation, we can expect that most probably among the subjects that al-Falimbānī studied with him was the Qur'ān and its recitations. According to al-Bakrī, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal also later met and studied with Muḥammad Mirdād.¹⁰⁷

Muḥammad Mirdād apparently built the reputation of the Mirdāds as a noted scholarly family in Mecca. It is important to highlight that most of the members of the Mirdād family occupied the post of *'shaykh al-khuṭabā' wa 'l-a'imma'* of the Sacred Mosque in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸ Among the most prominent members of the Mirdād family in later periods we find 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad Abū al-Khayr Mirdād (1285-1343/1868-1924), who was a *Qāḍī*, historian, and biographer of Mecca.¹⁰⁹

In addition to 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's Arab teachers, according to Shaghir Abdullah, he also studied with a *Jāwī* scholar, Muḥammad Zayn b. Faqīh Jalāl ad-Dīn b. Shaykh Kamāl ad-Dīn b. al-Qaḍī Baginda Khaṭīb at-Tarūn Pasir al-Jāwī al-Ashī (from Aceh), who resided in Mecca.¹¹⁰ Abdullah rightly believes that al-Falimbānī met and studied with him in Mecca.¹¹¹

Taking into consideration the dates and places in which Muḥammad Zayn al-Ashī completed his known works, it is highly plausible that al-Falimbānī studied with him. All of his currently known works were written in Mecca; these include his *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, a translation of as-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn* completed on the 24 of Sha'bān 1170/19 January 1756,¹¹² *Kashf al-Kirām fī Bayān an-Niyyat 'inda Takbīrat al-Ihrām*, completed on 8 Muḥarram 1171/22 September 1757,¹¹³ and *Talkhīṣ al-Falāḥ fī Bayān Aḥkām at-Ṭalāq wa 'n-Nikāḥ*, completed on 7 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1175/29 June 1762, or perhaps even earlier as a manuscript copy seems to indicate an earlier date.¹¹⁴ As we can see, all of these works were written before al-Falimbānī began writing his first work in 1178/1765; therefore, Muḥammad Zayn al-Ashī was most probably one of his early Meccan teachers who happened to be an established *Jāwī* scholar in the Holy City.

It is important to note that in the *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, al-Ashī points out that some ignorant people in the Archipelago, who claimed themselves as learned scholars, had accused the *Ṣūfīs* of heresy and permitted their books to be used as toilet paper. He also warned against the common practice of those ignorant people who only studied for two or three years but had accused undisputed *Ṣūfī* masters such as the two renowned Medinese *walīs*, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and his own *Jāwī* predecessor, 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī, of being

unbelievers. However, al-Ashī strongly advised his students against reading the complicated works of his three *Jāwī* predecessors, namely, Hamzah al-Fanṣūrī, Shams ad-Dīn as-Sumaṭrānī, and Sayf ar-Rijāl, as he believed there were no proficient *Jāwī* scholars during his time capable of comprehending their teachings. This, he said, also applies to Arabic works on *Ṣūfism* written by earlier *Ṣūfīs* such as Ibn al-‘Arabī’s *al-Futūḥāt [al-Makkiyyah]* and Muḥammad al-Ghauth’s *al-Jawāhir al-Khams*. He further explains that because of the inability of *Jāwī* scholars to understand the correct *Ṣūfī* teachings, an author such as Sayyid ‘Alawī Ba-Faqīh, in his work entitled *an-Nūr al-Mubīn*, had declared those who advocated the teachings of these three *Jāwī* scholars to be unbelievers.¹¹⁵ It is important to point out that in contradiction to al-Ashī’s belief, ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was one of the *Jāwī* ‘*ulamā*’ who advocated the teachings of great *Ṣūfīs* such as Ibn al-‘Arabī, ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, and others, as well as his *Jāwī* predecessors such as Shams ad-Dīn as-Sumaṭrānī and ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf as-Sinkīlī. This, as we shall see later, was because he felt competent enough and had the ability to teach such difficult subjects and explain them to capable adepts.

Among al-Ashī’s teachers whom he listed in his work was Shaykh Muḥammad Sa’īd al-Makkī.¹¹⁶ He is most likely to be Muḥammad Sa’īd b. Muḥammad Sunbul al-Maḥallātī al-Makkī ash-Shāfi’ī (d. 1175/1761 in aṭ-Ṭā’if), a Shāfi’ī *faqīh* and *muḥaddith* who assumed the office of the *muftī* and teacher at Mecca (*tawallā al-iftā wa ‘t-tadrīs bi ‘l-Masjid al-Ḥarām*).¹¹⁷

Aṭ-Ṭā’if

The only known teacher of al-Falimbānī in aṭ-Ṭā’if whom he mentioned three times in his *Sayr as-Sālikīn* was ‘Abd Allāh Mīrghanī aṭ-Ṭā’ifī.¹¹⁸ According to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, his teacher, *al-Imām al-‘Arīf al-Quṭb* [‘Afīf ad-Dīn, Abū as-Sa’ādah] ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Amīn b. ‘Alī Mīrghanī al-Ḥusaynī an-Nasafī al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī aṭ-Ṭā’ifī, also known as al-Maḥjūb (d. 1207/1792), was a renowned Ḥanafī *Ṣūfī* who was born and grew up in Mecca, and later moved with his family to aṭ-Ṭā’if in 1166/1752. He traced his genealogy back to Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, grandson of the Prophet SAW.¹¹⁹

Among 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī's teachers, were the two renowned *muḥaddiths* of Mecca, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and Aḥmad an-Nakhli, and a renowned *Ṣūfī walī* of his time who was known as *Quṭb zamānīh* (the pole of his time), namely Sayyid Yūsuf al-Mahdalī with whom he studied and was attached to him all his life.¹²⁰ After his teacher's death, Mīrghanī experienced a Divine rapture (*jadhbat al-Ḥaq*), such that, according to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, he received direct intuition from his ancestor the Prophet SAW. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī further relates that he first met and studied with Mīrghanī in Mecca in 1163/1749, and later in aṭ-Ṭā'if in 1166/1752.¹²¹

Mīrghanī's prominent students include the aforementioned *muftī* of Mecca, Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī, the West African *muḥaddith* who settled in Medina, Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Fullānī, and the Yemenī Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ahdal.¹²² The latter points out that when he sent him a written request for his *ijāzah* from Zabīd, 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī wrote him a lengthy reply in a mystical style, dated 2 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1167/19 September 1754, which, according to Sulaymān, demonstrated his teacher's strong affiliation with *Ṣūfism*.¹²³

Al-Falimbānī recorded some of 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī's works that he read. Among them *Tanbīh al-Ḥaqq fī Ḥayyiz al-Farq wa-Faṭḥ al-Muta'ālī fī Waqt Ighfālī*, a commentary on 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaddād's poetic composition entitled '*Ilzam bāb rabbik*,' which, according to al-Falimbānī is a work on *Ṣūfism* recommended for the *muḥaddith* (novice) travellers on the mystical path.¹²⁴ Other works by 'Abd Allāh Mīrghanī which al-Falimbānī would have read include *Sawād al-'Ayn fī Sharaf an-Nabiyyīn*, completed in 1157/1744, *al-Mu'jam al-Wajīz fī Aḥādith an-Nabī al-'Azīz*, a work on *ḥadīth* written in 1166/1752, *ad-Durrat al-Yatimah fī Ba'd Faḍā'il as-Sayyidah al-'Azīmah*, written in 1164/1750, which perhaps refers to Fāṭimah the daughter of the Prophet SAW, *Mashāriq al-Anwār fī 'ṣ-Ṣalāt wa 's-Salām 'alā 'n-Nabī al-Mukhtār*, perhaps a collection of litanies in praise of the Prophet SAW, and two anthologies of Arabic poems, one arranged alphabetically entitled *al-'Iqd al-Munazzam 'alā Hurūf al-Mu'jam*, and the other is *'Iqd al-Jawāhir fī Naẓm al-Mafākhīr*, respectively. Several other works that have not been listed by his biographers include unpublished manuscript copies of his *al-Anfās al-Qudsiyyah fī Ba'd Manāqib al-Ḥaḍrat al-'Abbāsiyyah*. As

the title would suggest, this is perhaps a work relating the merits of Ibn 'Abbās, the Prophet's SAW young companion and cousin who was buried in at-Ṭā'if; *Ithāf as-Su'adā' bi-Manāqib Sayyid ash-Shuhadā'*, a work on the virtues of Hamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's SAW uncle who is known in the Islamic tradition as the 'Master of the Martyrs' (*Sayyid ash-Shuhadā'*); and a work on Sūfism entitled *ar-Risālah al-Mirghaniyyah*.¹²⁵

It is worth noting that both 'Abd Allāh Mīrghani's sons, Yāsīn (d. 1251/1835) also known as al-Maḥjūb, and Abū Bakr were also renowned *Ṣūfī* scholars of Mecca.¹²⁶

Jeddah

In addition to 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's list of teachers as recorded by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, both al-Qannūjī and al-Bayṭār, also include a certain Muḥammad Murād as one of his teachers.¹²⁷ According to Azyumardi Azra, Muḥammad Murād of that period points to Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī.¹²⁸ However, my own research of several biographical dictionaries of the period and other Arabic sources, indicates a different scholar, namely Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī. His full name is Muḥammad Murād b. Ya'qūb al-Ḥāfiẓ b. Maḥmūd al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī as-Sindī (d. ca. 1201/1786). My investigation of several *isnāds* of al-Falimbānī further reveals that his teacher, Muḥammad Murād with whom he studied, was indeed this Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī.¹²⁹

Although there is no specific text that mentions that al-Falimbānī met Murād as-Sindī in Jeddah, based on his domicile and the *madrasah* where he was teaching, as we shall see shortly, it is highly likely that he studied with him in Jeddah. In addition, Martin van Bruinessen points out that according to oral tradition related to him by Kiai Zen Syukri, a contemporary proponent of the Khalwatiyyah Sammāniyyah Order in Palembang, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī stopped over in Jeddah on his way to Egypt, where he met and studied initially with Ṣiddīq al-Madanī who later introduced him to as-Sammān in Medina. Bruinessen points out that this narration is not available in any written sources.¹³⁰ However, if this is acceptable, it shows that al-Falimbānī did study in Jeddah and

hence it is highly probable that during his stay he studied there as well with Murād as-Sindī.

Although his year of birth is unknown, what we can gather from biographical notices is that Muḥammad Murād as-Sindī was born to an Indian family in the land of Sindh (now in modern Pakistan), where he grew up and later became its *Qāḍī* (judge). Although born in India, his genealogy traces his ancestors back to the Medinese Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī ^{raḍiyallāhu 'anhu}, a companion of the Prophet SAW.¹³¹ Indeed the Anṣārīs are widespread in several Arab, Asian and African urban centres and have produced many prominent scholars.

Muḥammad Murād was also the paternal grandfather of the renowned *muḥaddith* of Medina in the eighteenth century, Muḥammad 'Ābid b. Aḥmad 'Alī b. Muḥammad Murād b. Ya'qūb al-Ḥāfīz b. Maḥmūd al-Anṣārī as-Sindī (1190-1257/1776-1841), author of the famous *thabat* entitled *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*. Evidently, from his *isnāds* in the *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, Muḥammad 'Ābid tells us that he studied various branches of Islamic religious disciplines with his uncle Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Murād, who in turn studied with his father Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī. Muḥammad 'Ābid also included his *silsilah* in a number of *Ṣūfī farīqahs* in this work.¹³²

Muḥammad Murād's teachers who can be traced from his *isnād* include Muḥammad Hāshim b. 'Abd al-Ghafūr b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ḥanafī at-Tatwī as-Sindī (d. 1174/1760), who, according to al-Ḥasanī, was an eminent Indian scholar of *fiqh*, *ḥadīth* and Arabic language.¹³³

An anecdote related by 'Ābid as-Sindī tells us some of Muḥammad Murād's merits which also give us some idea of his Ṣūfism. He relates the following:

I was robed with *al-khirqah al-khiḍriyah* (al-Khiḍr's cloak) by my uncle Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī, who said that he was robed with *al-khirqah* by his father, *al-'arīf bi'llāh* (the Gnostic of God) Shaykh Muḥammad Murād b. Shaykh Ya'qūb al-Anṣārī as-Sindī. His father, Murād in turn said that al-Khiḍr had repeatedly clothed him with *al-khirqah*, and he told his son of his numerous encounters with al-Khiḍr. When he was about to die, he said to my uncle Muḥammad Ḥusayn, "My son, al-Khiḍr had just visited me and bid me farewell, and I have entrusted you to

him. He will meet you after the 'aṣr prayer at *al-Jāmi' ash-Shāfi'i* in Jeddah, and as a sign you will come across a man whose ring and right-hand little fingers are joined together." My uncle then said, "I went to the stated mosque to perform my 'aṣr congregational prayer, and on my exit upon leaving the place, a man as perfectly described earlier approached me: he was dark and tall, and he told me that my father had entrusted me to him. I then kissed his hand sought his blessing." Since then, my uncle used to tell me of his occasional encounters with al-Khiḍr.¹³⁴

Apparently, Muḥammad Murād's grandfather was also a learned scholar and *Ṣūfī*. According to al-Qannūjī, his grandfather, Maḥmūd was known as '*Shaykh al-Islām*' while Muḥammad Murād himself was a *Qāḍī* in his hometown in India, and later at the end of his life Muḥammad migrated to the Ḥijāz. Upon the request of Rayḥān, a minister in Jeddah who built Muḥammad Murād a mosque, a *madrasah*, and a house, he migrated to Jeddah where he settled and spent the rest of his life. It is not clear when he migrated to Jeddah. However, al-Ḥasanī points out that he was said to have died in Jeddah in 1201/1786 just before the arrival of Rafī' ad-Dīn al-Murādābādī for the *Hajj*, thus he would have migrated some years before the turn of thirteenth century Hijri.¹³⁵

Muḥammad Murād's students, apart from his own son Muḥammad Ḥusayn as-Sindī and al-Falimbānī, also included another *Jāwī* student, Muḥammad 'Āshiq ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī, the grandfather of Muḥammad Azharī al-Falimbānī (the latter was a nineteenth century scholar in Mecca and the author of *Badī' az-Zamān fī Bayān 'Aqā'id l-Īmān*). In addition to Muḥammad Murād, 'Āshiq ad-Dīn also studied with the two prominent *Ṣūfīs* Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān.¹³⁶ The last two, as we will see shortly, were among the most influential teachers of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī in Medina. This certainly indicates that 'Āshiq ad-Dīn must have been a contemporary of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad as they both studied with the same teachers who were also famous *Ṣūfī* masters.

Muḥammad Murād's works included a book in four volumes, which according to al-Ḥasanī contained numerous sections on *fawā'id al-Qur'ān* (virtues of the Qur'ān), and on *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*.¹³⁷

Though Muḥammad Murād took up residence in Jeddah, he is also reported to have travelled frequently to Mecca, especially to perform the *Ḥajj*, making it possible for al-Falimbānī to have met him there as well.¹³⁸ However, since Shaykh Murād had his own mosque in Jeddah and taught in his *madrasah*, it is highly likely that al-Falimbānī travelled to Jeddah to meet and study with him there.

Medina

According to traditional sources, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was said to have studied for thirty years in Mecca and then another five years in Medina. Unfortunately, al-Falimbānī himself does not provide us with exact accounts and dates of his travels and scholarship. However, by carefully examining the contents of his writings and the dates and places he provided when completing them, I was able to work out the dates for his five years of scholarship in Medina. It was between 1181/1767 and 1186/1772.

As we shall see later on (in the discussion of his writings in Chapter Five), it is evident that al-Falimbānī never fails to mention his highly venerated Medinese *Ṣūfī* master, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān in his writings written from 1187/1773 onwards, but he does not mention him, not even once, in any of his first three earlier writings written before this date. This certainly indicates that he had not travelled to Medina and hence, had not met or studied with as-Sammān prior to 1181/1767.

Without doubt, as-Sammān was the most highly revered of al-Falimbānī's teachers. This is evident from the manner in which he designates him with numerous titles, such as '*al-quṭb ar-rabbānī wa l-'ārif aṣ-ṣamadānī*,' '*quṭb al-kawn, walī ar-raḥmān*,' '*quṭb az-zamān, walī al-'irfān*,' '*al-walī al-kāmil al-mukammal, khātam ahl al-'irfān*,' '*quṭb az-zamān, ghawth al-anām*,' '*ustādhunā al-a'zam wa-malādhunā al-afkham, quṭb al-akwān, ghawth az-zamān, al-'ārif bi-Allāh bilā nizā' wa-walī [sic] bilā difā'*,' and so on.¹³⁹

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Madanī ash-Shāfi'ī, better known as Muḥammad as-Sammān (1130-89/1717-75), was a renowned Medinese *Ṣūfī* who was born and died

in Medina.¹⁴⁰ He also travelled to Egypt in 1174/1760 where he was warmly received by his father's disciples. Apparently, he did not stay long in Egypt as his student, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Bakrī al-'Ujaylī, met him in Medina in 1175/1761, receiving *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah* from him.¹⁴¹

Muḥammad as-Sammān was initiated into several renowned *Ṣūfī tariqahs* including, among others, al-Qādiriyyah, which he received from his own father 'Abd al-Karīm and Muḥammad Abū Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī respectively, an-Naqshabandiyyah, ash-Shādhiliyyah, al-'Ādiliyyah and al-Khalwatiyyah.¹⁴² However, he was mostly known for his affiliation with the al-Qādiriyyah and al-Khalwatiyyah orders. He mastered the al-Khalwatiyyah order under the guidance of the Damascene Shaykh Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl ad-Dīn al-Bakrī (1099-1162/1688-1749), and through persistent training and solitude, he attained the state of illumination (*kashf*), and was later appointed as al-Bakrī's *khalīfah*.¹⁴³ A branch of this Order was later named after him, known as *aṭ-Ṭariqah al-Khalwatiyyah* as-Sammāniyyah in Medina and elsewhere, which later gained popularity especially in the Malay world. It is important to note that Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī also had several other prominent disciples who were leading scholars of the eighteenth century. They included Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnī or al-Ḥifnāwī (1101-81/1689-1767) who founded a branch of the al-Khalwatiyyah Order in Egypt known as al-Khalwatiyyah al-Ḥifnāwiyyah Order and was also appointed as al-Bakrī's *khalīfah* in Egypt.¹⁴⁴

Muḥammad as-Sammān himself was among the students of the renowned Yemeni saint 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād (d. 1132/1719) of Tarīm, and was a disciple of the two renowned *muḥaddiths* of Mecca, Aḥmad an-Nakhilī (d. 1130/1717) and 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 1134/1722).¹⁴⁵ However, from his date of birth, it is clear that all three scholars must have been his teachers by way of a kind of honorary *ijāzah* given to him; perhaps requested by his own father, as he was still very young when these two Meccan scholars died.

Other than the aforementioned Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, as-Sammān also studied directly with a number of prominent scholars of his time. They included, among others, Muḥammad ad-Daqqāq ar-Ribāṭī al-Maghribī al-Madanī (d. 1158/1745),¹⁴⁶ Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1080-1145/1669-1732), Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī (d.

1194/1780), Sayyid 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-'Aṭṭār al-'Absi al-Ḥalabī (1106-71/1694-1757), 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kurdī ash-Shāmī of Damascus (1074-1179/1663-1765), 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad b. Barakāt al-Aḥmadī at-Ṭanṭawī al-Miṣrī (d. 1154/1741), Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī (d. 1163/1749), Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnī, Muḥammad Sa'id Hilāl al-Makkī (d. 1175/1761), Muḥammad Ṭāhir at-Tinbukṭī (originally from Timbuktu in Mali, West Africa), Sayyid 'Aṭiyat Allāh as-Sindī, al-Junayd al-Madanī, Ibrāhīm al-Mashīshī, Aḥmad al-Maghribī, and Ḥabīb 'Alawī and Ḥabīb Ḥasan, sons of Sayyid 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād.¹⁴⁷

As a renowned saint of his time, as-Sammān attracted numerous students and disciples. Among his disciples were 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ ash-Sha'āb al-Anṣārī al-Madanī (d. after 1236/1821),¹⁴⁸ Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-'Alawī al-Jufī (1149-86/1726-73), Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī, Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-'Umarī al-Fullānī (1166-1218/1752-1803), Muḥammad at-Tāwadī Ibn Sūdāh (1111-1209/1700-95), 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maghribī, Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar Khān al-Madanī, who studied with him for nearly twenty-five years, and Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī who relates that he received an *ijāzah* from him by way of correspondence.¹⁴⁹

However, according to Ṣiddīq al-Madanī, the most esteemed among as-Sammān's students who benefited greatly from him, in his own terms, "*wa-kān min ajalli talāmidhatihi akhdhan wa-a'ḍamuhum manāran*" was 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī al-Makkī.¹⁵⁰ It is quite clear from Ṣiddīq's statement that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī had earned the most esteemed position among as-Sammān's disciples.

Al-Falimbānī himself states that among as-Sammān's writings that he read directly with him was his *an-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk Ṭarīqat al-Muḥammadiyah*. Later, as-Sammān instructed him to read this work again with one of his disciples, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maghribī (see below). This *an-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, according to al-Falimbānī, contains the entire prerequisites, fundamental elements and guidance for seekers of al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah Order and is strongly recommended to novices seeking this order. Obviously al-Falimbānī attached much value to as-Sammān's *an-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, for he relates that he heard it from Ṣiddīq al-Madanī who in turn heard it from 'Abd al-Khālīq al-Mizjājī in Zabīd, another disciple of as-Sammān,

who had read this work with Aḥmad al-Muqrī and related that upon completing his reading that al-Muqrī invited the 'ulamā' of Zabīd to attend the concluding ceremony (*khatm*). During the *khatm*, al-Muqrī was seen by al-Mizjājī to be preoccupied, as if 'drowned' in a state of ecstasy until the *khatm* was over. Al-Muqrī then commented that the author, Shaykh as-Sammān, had attained a very esteemed rank and asked the audience if anyone else sees what he just saw, informing them that he saw the souls of the prophets and saints attending the gathering.¹⁵¹

Other writings of as-Sammān that al-Falimbānī listed as having read with the author include *'Unwān al-Jalwāh fī Sha'ni al-Khalwāh*, *Ighāthat al-Lahfān [wa-Mu'ānasat al-Walhān fī 'dh-Dhikr wa-Ādābihi wa-Kayfiyātih]*, *al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī at-Tawajjuhāt ar-Rūhiyyah li 'l-Ḥaḍrat al-Muḥammadiyyah*,¹⁵² *Kashf al-Asrār fī-mā Yata'allaq bihi Ism al-Qaḥḥār*,¹⁵³ reported to have been published under the title *Risālah fī Sharḥ Ismihi al-Qaḥḥār*, *an-Naṣīḥat al-'Uluwiyyah li 's-Sādat al-Aḥdaliyyah*, *Risālat Asrār al-'Ibādāh*, *Mawlid an-Nabī SAW*, and *Qaṣīdat Istighāthah wa-Madā'iḥ*.¹⁵⁴ Unfortunately, thus far I have only been able to consult as-Sammān's *an-Naṣīḥat al-Ilāhiyyah* as the rest remain either undiscovered or inaccessible.

Another work by as-Sammān on Ṣūfism, which, according to al-Falimbānī, is recommended for the intermediate level of seekers (*mutawassit*) of the mystical path that he read with his master, was a commentary of Raslān's *al-Ḥikam* by Shaykh al-Islām Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī entitled *Faṭḥ ar-Raḥmān*. He points out that this book was the first book that he read with him.¹⁵⁵ This without doubt also indicates that al-Falimbānī was already an intermediate seeker well equipped to learn difficult and complicated subjects when he started studying with as-Sammān. This also tells us that not only he must have studied thoroughly the exoteric Islamic sciences with several other 'ulamā', but that he had attained a certain stage on the Ṣūfī path before pursuing the esoteric sciences with as-Sammān.

It is clear from his own writings that al-Falimbānī esteemed and revered Muḥammad as-Sammān above all others, calling him his spiritual guide and the 'leader of the saints of his time' (*quṭb al-awliya 'hadhā az-zamān*), and that he became his most ardent follower and admirer.¹⁵⁶

As-Sammān died at the time of *ḍuḥā* (early morning after sunrise) on Wednesday, 2 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1189/25 January 1776 and was interred at al-Baqī' cemetery in Medina.¹⁵⁷ He was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad as-Sammān, better known as Ibn as-Sammān, who according to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī was also a renowned scholar and *Ṣūfī* master and assumed his position as the Shaykh of al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah Order after his father's death.¹⁵⁸ Among his descendents that can be traced is Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qādirī as-Sammān. Born in Medina in the early thirteenth/late eighteenth century, he lived mostly a solitary life in a garden named al-'Ulyā close to Qurbān, a land reported to have been purchased by his grandfather (Muḥammad as-Sammān) when he reportedly foresaw by way of prescient illumination (*al-kashf*) that a child will be born to his son at that place. Abū al-Ḥasan was reported to have several miracles and countless supernatural attainments, among them he is said to have known his exact time of death seven days in advance. He died in 1258/1842, and was interred at al-Baqī' in Medina.¹⁵⁹

According to az-Ziriklī, some of as-Sammān's disciples compiled separate works on his virtues, these include, *Durrat 'Iqd Jīd az-Zamān fī Manāqib ash-Shaykh Muḥammad as-Sammān*, *ad-Durrar al-Ḥisān fī Manāqib as-Sammān*, *Manāyih al-Karīm al-Mannān fī Manāqib Sidī ash-Shaykh Muḥammad as-Sammān*, *Manāqib Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān al-Madanī*, and *Bahjat Dhawī 'l-'Irfān fī Manāqib Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān*.¹⁶⁰

Without doubt, as-Sammān's reputation and fame as a highly revered *walī* in Medina also reached the Malay Archipelago, most probably through 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and his disciples. His *manāqib* and *Rātib as-Sammān* were widely read throughout the Malay world.¹⁶¹ As already mentioned in Chapter One, some *Jāwī* scholars, for instance Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Kemas Badr ad-Dīn, who probably was one of al-Falimbānī's students, wrote a book entitled *Nafaḥāt ar-Raḥmān fī Manāqib Ustādhinā al-A'zam as-Sammān*, on the virtues (*manāqib*) and miracles (*karāmāt*) of as-Sammān. Since this *Nafaḥāt ar-Raḥmān* also devoted a chapter to numerous *karāmāt* of as-Sammān reported by his students after his death, it is obvious that it must have been written after his death in 1189/1775.

The next teacher of al-Falimbānī in Medina was 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Umarī ash-Shinqīṭī al-Maghribī al-Mālikī (d. 1181/1767), who himself was also one of as-Sammān's disciples.¹⁶² Al-Murādī tells us that 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ash-Shinqīṭī originated from Northwest Africa (modern day Mauritania) and settled down in Medina where he taught and died. Al-Murādī adds that he had a blessed breath or spirit (*lahu nafas mubārak*) over his students that whoever studied with him attained the opening and success in the pursuit of knowledge (*ḥaṣal lahu al-futūḥ*).¹⁶³ According to 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself, upon as-Sammān's instruction, he read his aforementioned *an-Nafāḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah* and al-Burhānpūrī's *at-Tuḥfat al-Mursalāh* with 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Maghribī. Al-Falimbānī also expresses his obvious veneration of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Maghribī as he designates him with the title 'the knower of God, the learned, the great scholar, the master of both the rational and traditional sciences, and external and internal knowledge' (*al-'ārif bi-Allāh al-'ālim al-'allāmah al-jāmi'* bayna 'ilm al-ma'qūl wa 'l-manqūl wa 'ilm aẓ-ẓāhir wa 'l-bāḥin').¹⁶⁴

Though al-Falimbānī did not mention any of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Maghribī's writings, we can gather from other sources that a work entitled *Tawālī' al-Faṭḥ* compiled in 1180/1766 was ascribed to him.¹⁶⁵

The next teacher of al-Falimbānī in Medina was Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar Khān al-Madanī, also another disciple of as-Sammān.¹⁶⁶ Though Ṣiddīq al-Madanī may have been a teacher of al-Falimbānī, as he relates that he read several works with him upon as-Sammān's instruction, we shall see shortly from his close relation that he should more appropriately be considered his close colleague rather than teacher.

Unfortunately, even after extensive search, I have not been able to find any biographical dictionary that provides us with a biographical notice on him. However, from Aḥmad 'Abd al-Majīd Harīdī's edition of Ṣiddīq al-Madanī's *Qaṭf Azhār al-Mawāhib ar-Rabbāniyyah min Afnān Riyāḍ an-Nafḥat al-Qudsiyyah*, I have been able to gather some biographical details about him. Despite no available records on Ṣiddīq al-Madanī's dates of birth and death, Harīdī tells us that he was born in India as indicated in his own writing, and later travelled to Medina where he met as-Sammān's student, Sayyid Muḥsin Muqaybil. The latter suggested that Ṣiddīq al-Madanī accompany him to meet and take

the pledge of allegiance (*bay'ah*) from Muḥammad as-Sammān. Ṣiddīq became a devotee of as-Sammān for twenty-five years, probably from the year 1164/1750. He later travelled - after as-Sammān's death - to Sannār in Sudan and studied with Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣāyigh as-Sannārī, and to Zabīd where he studied with Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Makkī.¹⁶⁷

Ṣiddīq al-Madanī was reported to have a *zāwiyah*¹⁶⁸ in Jeddah, a *zāwiyah* that was named after his teacher as-Sammān known as *az-Zāwiyah as-Sammāniyyah*, where he died and was buried. The location of this *zāwiyah*, according to Harīdī, can still be identified to this day. As for his *karāmāt*, Ṣiddīq al-Madanī was reported to have been challenged by seeing *Iblīs* (the Devil) twice: the first time was in India and the second in *al-Ḥaramayn*. During a drought in Sannār, Sudan, it was reported to have rained immediately after his invocation and *tawassul* (supplication to God) through as-Sammān's *qaṣīdah* (poem), most probably the earlier mentioned *Qaṣīdat Istighāthah wa-Madā'ih*.¹⁶⁹

In a Malay tract on as-Sammān's *manāqib* (merits) entitled *Alamat Surat Manaqib Tuan Syekh Muhammad Samman Serta Surat Mi'raj*, which is still being recited in Banjar, Indonesia up to the present day, Ṣiddīq al-Madanī was also reported to have been the *khalīfah* (successor) of as-Sammān in Medina.¹⁷⁰

Among his writings that al-Falimbānī listed were, [*al-Futūḥāt*] *as-Sammāniyyah fī Sulūk al-Waḥdāniyyah*,¹⁷¹ *an-Naṣḥat as-Sammāniyyah fī [Maḥāsīn] aṭ-Ṭarīqat al-Qādiriyyah*, *Murshid aṭ-Ṭullāb ilā Sulūk Ṭarīq al-Aḥbāb*, *Sharḥ Tawassul Muḥammad as-Sammān*, and *Kashf al-Astār al-Wahmiyyah 'an Jamāl Muḥyī an-Naṣḥat al-Qudsiyyah*, a commentary on as-Sammān's poem *al-'Ayniyyah*.¹⁷² Apparently, all of these titles are writings on Sūfism. Al-Falimbānī himself read *al-'Ayniyyah* with Ṣiddīq al-Madanī and his commentaries on Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī's writings on *tawḥīd*: *Tawḥīd al-af'āl*, *Tawḥīd al-asmā'*, *Tawḥīd aṣ-ṣifāt* and *Tawḥīd adh-dhāt* after reading the *matn* (text) of these works with as-Sammān himself. It was in these commentaries, according to al-Falimbānī, that Ṣiddīq al-Madanī included his name in the prologue, perhaps because they were written upon his request.¹⁷³

Although it was upon the instruction of as-Sammān that al-Falimbānī studied and read several works with Ṣiddīq al-Madanī, as

I have indicated earlier, he was more of an esteemed colleague than a teacher to him. This evidently can be seen from their close relations, for instance, it was upon al-Falimbānī's request that Ṣiddīq al-Madanī wrote for him his *Qaṭf Azhār al-Mawāhib ar-Rabbāniyyah*, a commentary on as-Sammān's poem, *an-Naḥḥat al-Qudsiyyah*, a commentary intended for his fellow Muslims in Palembang. In the prologue of the *Qaṭf Azhār*, Ṣiddīq al-Madanī writes: "be informed O my brethren, that I am a helpless and a weak servant. I was requested by a brother in the *ṭarīqah*, the Gnostic of God, the divine (*ar-rabbānī*) our master Shaykh 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī to write a commentary on this *al-'ayniyyah* poem known as *an-Naḥḥat al-Qudsiyyah* attributed to our above-mentioned teacher [as-Sammān] who is more known than 'a mountain crowned by light.' He had seen my other commentary on this poem, but it was in esoteric language (*al-ḥaqā'iq*). Thus, he instructed me to elucidate it in exoteric language (*aṣ-ṣāhir*) which can be understood by those who are not acquainted with the intricacies of knowledge (*ad-daḥā'iq*). I complied with his request immediately turning to God for help to unbind its symbols."¹⁷⁴

On the other hand, according to al-Falimbānī, when he himself completed a treatise on *waḥdat al-wujūd* based on the teachings that he received from as-Sammān, Ṣiddīq al-Madanī was the first to read this work and later gave it the title *Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Tawḥīd Rabb al-'Ālamīn*.¹⁷⁵ Thus, both these occasions clearly reflect the close relations and mutual estimation between Ṣiddīq al-Madanī and 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī as fellow disciples of as-Sammān.

Another teacher with whom al-Falimbānī studied during his sojourn in Medina was 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Fattānī al-Qāsim, who according to him was better known as 'al-'Ālim aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Hindī al-Madanī.¹⁷⁶ According to Ṣiddīq al-Madanī, 'Abd al-Ghanī originated from India and purposely travelled to Medina to meet and study with as-Sammān. He adhered to as-Sammān for the whole duration of his sojourn in Medina where he later died and was buried in al-Baqī' cemetery.¹⁷⁷ Unfortunately Ṣiddīq al-Madanī did not provide us with details of the year of his arrival, duration of his sojourn in Medina or the year of his death.

Al-Falimbānī himself tells us that he read with 'Abd al-Ghanī his book entitled *Faṭḥ ar-Raḥmān*, an exposition of as-Sammān's *Risālat*

Asrār al-'Ibādāt, and several other writings on Ṣūfism (which he does not specify) upon the instructions of as-Sammān.¹⁷⁸ Thus, it is clear that he met and studied with him in Medina and during the lifetime of as-Sammān, i.e. before 1189/1775, which is the date of the latter's death.

Another renowned scholar with whom al-Falimbānī studied during his sojourn in Medina was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī ash-Shāfi'ī (1127-94/1715-80).¹⁷⁹ He was born in Damascus, and at the age of one was brought to Medina, where he grew up and mastered both *al-'ilm an-naqlī* (traditional Islamic sciences) and *al-'ilm al-'aqlī* (rational sciences). He was also known to be a *faqīh* (jurist) and was appointed as the *muftī* of the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence in Medina.¹⁸⁰

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī studied with prominent scholars of his time, including his father Sulaymān, Muḥammad Sa'id Sunbul, the then Shāfi'ī *muftī* of Mecca, whose lecture at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina he attended on the 2nd Dhū al-Qa'dah 1170/19th July 1757 and from whom he narrated *al-Awā'il as-Sunbuliyyah*.¹⁸¹ Muḥammad al-Kurdī's teachers also included Yūsuf al-Kurdī, Abū Tāhir al-Kūrānī, Aḥmad al-Jawharī, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, the famous Master of al-Khalwatiyyah Order, among others.

Among his students other than 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself, were his son 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Kurdī and other prominent scholars, such as the Shāfi'ī arch-*Musnids* of Ahl al-Bayt: Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. 'Alawī Jamāl al-Layl al-Madanī (d. 1235/1819), 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, the renowned *muḥaddith* Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī, and the two Damascene *muḥaddiths* Muḥammad Shākir al-'Aqqād (d. 1222/1807), and Muḥammad al-Kuzbarī (d. 1221/1806). They also included a number of other previously mentioned scholars such as the eminent Ṣūfī Master, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān himself, Muḥammad b. Sālīm al-Ḥifnī, and the reformer and founder of the Wahhābī movement, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792) who was also a student of the Indian *muḥaddith* of Medina, Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī.¹⁸²

'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī obviously venerated Muḥammad al-Kurdī highly as he eulogised him as "*Shaykhunā al-'ālim al-'allāmah al-'āmil bi-'ilmihi Mawlānā* ash-Shaykh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī *al-muftī fī 'l-Madinah al-Munawwarah*" (Our teacher,

the savant, the great scholar, the one who practices in accordance with his knowledge, our master, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī al-Madanī, the *muftī* in Medina).¹⁸³ He retained his position as the *muftī* until he died on 16th Rabī' al-Awwal 1194/20th March 1780 at the age of sixty-seven.¹⁸⁴

Among al-Kurdī's writings was *al-Ḥawāshī al-Madaniyyah 'alā Sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥaḍramiyyah* ['*alā 'l-Minhāj al-Qawīm*], *'Uqūd ad-Durar fī Bayān Muṣṭalahāt Tuhfat Ibn Ḥajar*, both based on *fiqh* commentaries by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, with the latter explaining technical terms found in his famous *Tuhfat al-Muhtāj*. Al-Kurdī's writings also include *al-Fawā'id al-Madaniyyah fī-man Yufṭā bi-Qawlihi min A'immat ash-Shāfi'iyyah*, on Shāfi'ī *muftīs*, *Kāshif al-Lithām 'an Ḥukm at-Tajarrud Qabl al-Miqāt bilā Ḥrām*, on aspects of the pilgrimage, *ath-Thaḡhr al-Bassām 'an Ma'ānī as-Suwar allatī Yuzawwij fihā al-Ḥukkām*, on the use of certain verses of the Qur'ān as source of jurisprudence, *Sharḥ 'alā Manẓūmāt an-Nāsikh wa 'l-Mansūkh*, a commentary on a collection of poems on those verses of the Qur'ān which abrogate and are abrogated, *Zahr ar-Rubā fī Bayān Aḥkām ar-Ribā*, on clarifying the law of usury, *al-Intibāh fī Ta'jīl aṣ-Ṣalah*, on attentiveness regarding the hastening of prayers, *Kashf al-Murūṭ 'an Muḥdhirāt mā-lī 'l-Wuḍū' min 'sh-Shurūṭ*, on the conditions of ablution, *Fatāwā al-Kurdī*, and *ad-Durrat al-Bahiyyah fī Jawāb al-As'ilat al-Jāwiyyah*.¹⁸⁵ The latter, was written to answer questions posed by his *Jāwī* students, which signifies the attention given by scholars of *al-Ḥaramayn* to *Jāwī* issues. However and unfortunately, I have not been able to locate copy of this work. From the entire list, most of Muḥammad al-Kurdī's works deal with *fiqh*, which further indicates his expertise in this field, although he is usually counted as a *Ṣūfī* above all.

Another scholar who should be included among al-Falimbānī's teachers was Mushayyakh Bā-'Ubūd.¹⁸⁶ According to al-Ḥabshī, he is Mushayyakh b. Zayn Bā-'Ubūd al-'Alawī (d. 1170/1756). He was born in Ḥaḍramawt, Yemen and later, around 1115/1703 migrated to Medina.¹⁸⁷ Among Mushayyakh's best-known teachers in Yemen were the earlier mentioned Tarīm saint 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaddād and Aḥmad b. Hāshim b. Aḥmad al-Ḥabshī, with both of whom he studied exoteric and esoteric sciences, both clothed him with the *Ṣūfī* cloak (*al-khirqah*) and initiated

him into *al-'Alawiyyah* Order. He also studied with 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh Balfaqīh in Medina, who in turn studied with prominent '*ulamā'*' such as Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Rasūl al-Barzanjī, Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī, Aḥmad an-Nakhli, and 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī; the last two, with whom Mushyayyakh also studied directly. He can also be included among the students of the renowned Ḥanafī *Ṣūfī* shaykh, 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī of Damascus (d. 1143/1731), by way of correspondence (*murāsalaḥ*). Al-Ḥabshī points out that according to *Ṣūfī* mystical expression, Mushayyakh Bā-'Ubūd met an-Nābulusī spiritually (*al-ijtimā' ar-rūḥānī*).¹⁸⁸

Among the writings on Islamic discipline that al-Falimbānī read with Mushayyakh were *Sunan Ibn Mājah* on *ḥadīth*, and *Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ al-Jāmī 'alā al-Kāfiyah*, an extensive gloss on 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jāmī's (d. 898/1492) *Fawā'id Wāfiyah fī Ḥall Mushkilāt al-Kāfiyah*, a commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājjib's (d. 646/1249) *Kāfiyat Dhawī al-Ādāb fī 'Ilm Kalām al-'Arab*, a concise textbook on Arabic grammar and syntax.¹⁸⁹

The last from the list of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's teachers in Medina is 'Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn. According to al-Fādānī, he is 'Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Badr ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī as-Sumatrānī al-Madanī (d. ca. 1182/1768), the most learned of the *Jāwī* '*ulamā'*' who possessed the most numerous *isnāds* and the widest transmissions (*aktharuhum isnādan wa-awsa'uhum riwāyatan*), to an extent that he was known as an authority on *ḥadīth*, Qur'ān and jurisprudence (*al-muḥaddith al-ḥāfiẓ al-faqīh*). 'Āqib had his numerous *isnāds* recorded in his two *thabats*, entitled *Thabat Ṣaghīr* and *Mu'jam Shuyūkh al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Āqib al-Falimbānī*.¹⁹⁰ However, it is unfortunate that even after extensive search I have not been able to locate any copies of these works. Nevertheless, the fact that 'Āqib had numerous *isnāds* and narrated extensively is certainly indisputable as we learn that most of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad's *isnāds* pass through him.¹⁹¹

Although I haven't been able to find any mention of him in biographical dictionaries, 'Āqib was, according to al-Fādānī, one of the *Jāwī* scholars who migrated to Medina and was bestowed with a long life (*al-mua'mmar*) living for more than ninety years, dying in Medina around 1182/1768. Al-Fādānī points out that 'Āqib studied directly with

Muḥammad as-Sammān, and received several Islamic sciences by way of *ijāzah* from both 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and Aḥmad an-Nakhlī.¹⁹² It was believed that 'Āqib once owed a large sum of money and was unable to repay his debt. He then said to himself that if as-Sammān was indeed a true *walī*, then through him God would definitely release him from his burden. In less than a year, he was said to have been able to pay back all his debt, which he attributed to the *karāmat* of as-Sammān.¹⁹³

'Āqib's list of teachers, according to al-Fādānī, also included scholars such as the aforementioned *mufī* of Medina, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī, Muḥammad Sa'īd Sunbul, Ibn 'Aqīlah, Muḥammad b. Sulṭān al-Walīdī (d. 1134/1721), Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Wanā'ī, 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ b. Darwīsh al-'Ujaymī, the *qāḍī* and *mufī* of Mecca, Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad an-Nakhlī, the sons of the two above mentioned renowned *muḥaddith* of Mecca, 'Umar b. 'Aqīl as-Saqqāf, Amr Allāh b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī, Jarjis (or Jirjis) b. Aḥmad Afandī, Ḥasan b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, and 'Abd al-Majīd b. 'Alī al-Manālī, better known as az-Zayādī al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī.¹⁹⁴ It is worth noting that Muḥammad al-'Ujaymī and 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ al-'Ujaymī were the son and grandson of Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī respectively.¹⁹⁵

It is important to point out that many other members of 'Āqib's family are also included among the *Jāwī* scholars who took up residence in *al-Ḥaramayn*. They include for instance, his brother Ṣāliḥ, his father Ḥasan ad-Dīn, his uncle Ṭayyib, and his grandfather, Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Badr ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī. The latter was a *ḥadīth* scholar who studied with, among others, the earlier mentioned famous Egyptian scholar Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-'Alā' al-Bābilī. It is highly likely that he met and studied with al-Bābilī during his regular visits to *al-Ḥaramayn* where he performed the *ḥajj* and stayed for a while to teach. His grandfather Ja'far died in Mecca in 1128/1715.¹⁹⁶

In addition to 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, 'Āqib's students also included Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī (1187-1240/1773-1824), the *mufī* of Mecca and the son of the earlier mentioned al-Falimbānī's Meccan teacher, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī, the Meccan *muḥaddith*, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Karīm

b. 'Abd ar-Rasūl al-'Aṭṭār (d. 1249/1833), Sulaymān al-Ahdal and his son, 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal.¹⁹⁷

However, though 'Āqib was a teacher of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and a student of as-Sammān, apparently he had to take the pledge of allegiance (*bay'ah*) for initiation into al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah Order from 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad instead of as-Sammān himself. According to the *ṭarīqah silsilah* of Muḥammad Azharī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Falimbānī, he received the *talqīn* for the membership of the al-Khalwatiyyah as-Sammāniyyah Order from 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'rūf al-Falimbānī, who in turn received it from Muḥammad 'Āqib b. Ḥasan ad-Dīn al-Falimbānī, who received it from 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, who in turn took the Order from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, who in turn received it from Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, and so forth to the Prophet SAW.¹⁹⁸ This is probably because 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad had been appointed by as-Sammān as his *khalīfah* and hence the *bay'ah* had to be done through him. This without doubt reflects 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad's esteemed position as one of as-Sammān's closest *Ṣūfī* disciples, especially in the esoteric sciences, as he was appointed as his *khalīfah* he was entrusted by his teacher to initiate others, including his own teacher 'Āqib into this Order.

Perhaps, because of 'Āqib's initiation into the Order by 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, modern scholars have mistakenly assumed he was his student. For instance, from the aforementioned *silsilah*, Shaghīr Abdullah believes that 'Āqib was a student of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad instead of his teacher.¹⁹⁹ However, from the numerous Islamic sciences that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad studied with 'Āqib, it is obvious that he was his student and not his teacher. In addition, it is customary for traditional Islamic scholars to acquire knowledge from, or exchange *isnāds* (*tadabbaj*) with his peer or his student or a junior colleague. Such practices, according to Ḥusayn al-Ḥibshī, have ancient origins. For instance, he said this is exemplified by the Prophet SAW himself when he stood on the pulpit and said, "Tamīm ad-Dārī reported to me" on his account of *ad-Dajjāl* (anti-Christ).²⁰⁰ Thus, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad was 'Āqib's student in traditional Islamic traditions, but 'Āqib was his spiritual disciple in the *Ṣūfī* tradition, specifically in the Sammāniyyah Order.

Among the various branches of Islamic disciplines that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad studied with 'Āqib were *ḥadīth*, *as-siyar wa 'l-maghāzī wa 'sh-shamā'il* (history, account of the Prophet's campaigns, and a collection of traditions on the traits of the Prophet SAW), *tafsīr*, *'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, *'ulūm al-ḥadīth*, *tawḥīd*, *fiqh* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *balāghah* (rhetoric), *naḥw*, *ṣarf*, *taṣawwuf*, *tawārīkh* and *ṭabaqāt* (Islamic history and biographies). It is worthwhile noting that among the works on *taṣawwuf* he read with 'Āqib was Ibn al-'Arabī's *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah*. This reflects 'Āqib's intellectual competency as a teacher of both exoteric and esoteric Islamic sciences.²⁰¹ However, from the Islamic literatures which 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad mainly read with him, it is clear that what he learned from him apparently were sciences, promoting an intellectual understanding of Islam rather than a spiritual or mystical one. In other words, 'Āqib was an intellectual teacher for 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, while on the other hand as-Sammān, as shown earlier, was his spiritual and mystical master; and 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad was the initiator of 'Āqib into the Sammāniyyah *ṭarīqah*.

Al-Falimbānī's Learning Centres Outside The Arabian Peninsula

It has been generally assumed by modern scholars that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's scholarly travel and sojourns were confined to the Arabian Peninsula region. However, careful examination of the sources would suggest that al-Falimbānī travelled to Egypt and Syria studying with notable scholars from both Cairo and Damascus.

Using the *isnād* works of al-Fādānī as a primary source, there is evidence that al-Falimbānī most probably studied in both Egypt and Syria. He certainly had several teachers from these regions. His Egyptian teachers mentioned by al-Fādānī include Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mujīrī al-Mullawī, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Khālīdī al-Jawharī, his son, Muḥammad al-Jawharī, Dāwūd b. Sulaymān al-Kharibṭawī al-Miṣrī, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā al-'Aydarūs, Muḥammad Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī al-Miṣrī, and 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Wanā'ī. Furthermore, I was able to trace his teachers from Damascus, Ḥalab (Aleppo) and other parts of

Syria-Palestine. None of these have been mentioned by modern scholars. They were Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-'Aṭṭār, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad as-Saffārīnī (from Palestine), Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-'Aqilī al-Ḥalabī al-'Umārī, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Armanāzī al-Ḥalabī. This is in addition to Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hilālī as-Sijilmāsī, who hailed originally from Morocco.

Egypt

It was probably while studying in Mecca that al-Falimbānī, together with other *Jāwī* compatriots including Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bugīsī, and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Batāwī al-Miṣrī also travelled to Egypt to study with its scholars. Though we do not have evidence on when such travel to Egypt may have happened, it would appear from the list of the Egyptian teachers whom al-Falimbānī came in contact with and the report of his travels from his traditional account, that he studied in Egypt.²⁰² This conclusion is in accord with al-Fādānī's report when he points out that al-Falimbānī received his instructions *in Egypt* from, among others, the two Shihābs: Aḥmad al-Mullawī and Aḥmad al-Jawharī (*wa-rawā 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad ... bi-Miṣr 'an 'sh-Shihābayn, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mullawī wa-Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jawharī*).²⁰³ Perhaps it was because of their sojourn in Egypt that his colleague, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Batāwī, following the traditional custom for Islamic scholars to adopt a *nisbah* of a particular place due to their stay in that place, adopted the *nisbah* al-Miṣrī (the Egyptian).

One of the Egyptian scholars with whom 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī studied was Aḥmad al-Mullawī (1088-1182/1677-1767).²⁰⁴ His full name was Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ b. Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Mujirī ash-Shāfi'ī al-Azharī, more commonly known as Aḥmad al-Mullawī. His ancestors originated from Ḥama (Ḥamāh) on the Orontes River in central Syria. According to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, on the authority of al-Mullawī himself, he was born at dawn (*fajr*) on Thursday, 2 Ramaḍān 1088/28 October 1677 in Cairo. He studied at al-Azhar and was later known as the *shaykh ash-shuyūkh* (Grand Master) and *musnid al-waqt* (*isnād*-expert of his time).²⁰⁵

Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī includes al-Mullawī among the first generation (*aṭ-ṭabaqat al-ūlā*) of his own teachers who in turn had met and studied with 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad an-Nakhlī, Aḥmad al-Bannā' and Ḥasan al-'Ujaimī. This group also included al-Mullawī's fellow scholars, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jawharī (d. 1182/1768), who as we shall see shortly was also one of al-Falimbānī's teachers, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Āmir ash-Shubrāwī (d. 1171/1757), Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im ad-Damanhūrī (d. 1192/1778), whom al-Falimbānī met and studied with in Mecca, and Sābiq b. Ramaḍān b. 'Arām az-Za'balī (1068-1182/1657-1768). The latter, according to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, also met Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Bābīlī (d. 1078/1667).²⁰⁶

Aḥmad al-Mullawī travelled to *al-Ḥaramayn* in 1122/1710 where he met and studied with the two *muḥaddiths* of Mecca, 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and Aḥmad an-Nakhlī. He received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah* from both, read with them the opening chapters of the six *ḥadīth* canonical books (*awā'il al-kutub as-sittah*), and was later granted their licence (*ijāzah*). During his sojourn in Mecca, al-Mullawī also took the opportunity to meet and study with Ilyās b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1047-1138/1637-1726), Idrīs al-Yamānī, and Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad al-Kūrānī. He was included among the students of the latter's father, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī by way of general *ijāzah* (*al-ijāzah al-'āmmah*).²⁰⁷

In an unpublished copy of his *Thabat*, Aḥmad al-Mullawī provides us with a comprehensive list of his teachers, the various branches of Islamic disciplines he studied and the books he read with them, together with his *isnāds* to these works. Among his teachers were Shāfi'ī scholars such as Aḥmad b. al-Faqīh, 'Ayd b. 'Alī an-Numrusī, 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf al-Bashbīshī, and 'Abd Rabbih b. Aḥmad ad-Dīwī; and Mālikī scholars of Maghribī origin, such as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Warzāzī, 'Umar b. 'Abd as-Salām at-Tiṭwānī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd as-Sanūsī al-Hashtūkī, and 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Maghribī al-Qaṣarī al-Kanaksī.²⁰⁸

Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī relates that he himself first attended Aḥmad al-Mullawī's teaching sessions at al-Jāmi' al-Azhar in 1167/1754 when al-Mullawī gave lectures on 'Alī al-Ashmūnī's (d. 929/1522) commentary on Ibn Mālik's (600-72/1204-73) *al-Alfiyyah* on Arabic grammar. This was later followed by a visit to his house on Friday, 22nd Rabī' ath-Thānī

1167/15th February 1754 where he received the *ḥadīth al-awwaliyyah* together with a "general and a specific licence" (*ijāzah 'āmmah khāṣṣah*) from him. He later attended the reading with al-Mullawī of several chapters from the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and several works of the famous *Ṣūfī* scholar ash-Sha'rānī.²⁰⁹

Among al-Mullawī's writings were *Sharḥ as-Samarqandiyyah* on *al-balāḡah* (rhetoric), glosses or marginalia (*ḥāshiyah*) on a well known North African *Ṣūfī*, Ibn 'Azzūm al-Qayrawānī's (d. 972/1563) commentary on as-Sanūsī's (d. 895/1490) *Matn Umm al-Barāhīn* on *tawḥīd*, *ḥāshiyah* on Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's (d. 926/1520) commentary on the introduction to Aristotle's Logic (*Isāghūjī* – i.e. Porphyry's Isagoge) by Athīr ad-Dīn al-Abḥārī (d. 663/1265), and an abridgment of ar-Ramlī's (d. 1004/1595) *fatwās*, a *Thabat*²¹⁰ containing a list of his teachers and the works he read with them, *al-La'ālī al-Manthūrah 'alā Naẓm al-Muwajjahāt*,²¹¹ a treatise on theology and *Ṣūfism*.²¹²

According to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, al-Mullawī became ill throughout the later years of his life and was confined to his bed. However, he still had complete control over his senses and his students came daily to read with him different traditional Islamic disciplines. He died in Cairo on 15 Rabi' al-Awwal 1181/10 August 1767 and was interred at the Ḥusaynī Shrine (*al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī*).²¹³

Among the subjects and books that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad read with Aḥmad al-Mullawī were his own writings such as his *Ḥāshiyah* (marginalia) on al-Makūdī's (d. 807/1404) commentary entitled *Sharḥ al-Makūdī* on Ibn Mālik's *al-Alfiyyah* on grammar, 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī's (d. 600/1203) *Umdat al-Aḥkām [min Kalām Khayr al-Anām]*, a collection of legal *ḥadīths* taken from *aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (of al-Bukhārī and Muslim) related to rulings, all the works on Histories of Mecca (*Tawārīkh Makkah*) compiled by Taqī ad-Dīn al-Fāsī al-Makkī (d. 832/1429), including his *Shifā' al-Gharām bi-Akḥbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām*, with its seven abridgments (*mukhtaṣarātuhu as-sab'ah*), and *al-'Iqd ath-Thamīn fī Tārīkh al-Balad al-Amīn*, with its three abridgment (*mukhtaṣarātuhu ath-thalāthah*), and Tāj ad-Dīn Ibn as-Subkī's (d. 771/1370) extensive biographical compilation of Shāfi'ī jurists, *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyyah al-Kubrā*.²¹⁴

The next from al-Falimbānī's list of Egyptian teachers is Aḥmad al-Jawharī, a peer of the aforementioned Aḥmad al-Mullawī.²¹⁵ He is Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Karīm ad-Dīn al-Karīmī al-Khālidī ash-Shāfi'ī al-Qāhirī al-Azharī (d. 1182/1768), better known as Aḥmad al-Jawharī, since his father was a gemstone merchant (*al-jawhar*), according to al-Jabartī, he was later distinguished by this *nisbah*.²¹⁶ It is worth noting that during this period, there were three renowned Egyptian scholars by the name of Aḥmad with the same *laqab* (title) Shihāb ad-Dīn, they were Aḥmad al-Mullawī, Aḥmad al-Jawharī and Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī; they were in *isnād* occasionally referred to as the three Shihābs or three stars (*ash-Shuhub ath-thalāthah*) and coincidentally, all were al-Falimbānī's teachers.²¹⁷

Aḥmad al-Jawharī was born in Cairo, Egypt in 1096/1684, and from childhood was engaged in learning and studying the Islamic sciences in which he surpassed his contemporaries. He later taught and gave guidance at al-Azhar for almost sixty years. He travelled several times to *al-Ḥaramayn*, first in 1120/1708 and then 1124/1712, when he met and studied with both 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī and Aḥmad an-Nakhli, narrating *ḥadīth* with high *isnād* from both, and again later in 1130/1717. Among the Islamic literatures which he read with al-Baṣrī and an-Nakhli were the six canonical *ḥadīth* books and he received the general *ijāzah* together with the *isnād* for the narration of *ḥadīth al-awwaliyyah* from both scholars.²¹⁸

Aḥmad al-Jawharī was also reported to have travelled to Medina in 1168/1754 where he taught several subjects in ar-Rawḍah of the Prophet's Mosque, close to his tomb. These included at-Tirmidhī's *ash-Shamā'il*, on special qualities of the Prophet SAW, *Sharḥ al-Jawharah* on theology, which he himself had written a gloss (*ḥāshiyah*), and on Sūfism, the exposition of *al-Ḥikam* by Ibn 'Abbād ar-Rundī (d. 792/1390).²¹⁹

Evidently, on *Ṣūfī tariqah* Aḥmad al-Jawharī followed the *ash-Shādhiliyyah* Order, since we know that he was the *murshid* (spiritual guide) for the Syrian scholar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-'Ajlūnī ad-Dimashqī (1128-93/1716-79), better known as Abū al-Faṭḥ. The latter received initiation into this order from al-Jawharī during his study in Egypt from 1157/1744 to 1165/1751.²²⁰ Another renowned

Egyptian scholar, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Azharī (1154-1232/1741-1816), better known as al-Amīr al-Kabīr was also initiated into the *ash-Shādhiliyyah* Order by al-Jawharī and later permitted to issue *ijāzah* for this Order.²²¹

Among his writings were *Ḥāshiyah* on al-Lāqānī's (d. 1041/1631) commentary on his own *Jawharat at-Tawḥīd*, a work on the verification of saints' miracles in their life and after their death entitled *Fayḍ al-Ilāh al-Muta'āl fī Ithbāt Karāmāt al-Awliyā' fī 'l-Ḥayāt wa-Ba'd al-Intiqāl*. On scholastic theology ('ilm al-kalām) he wrote a work entitled *Khāliṣ an-Naf'ah fī Bayān al-Maṭālib as-Sab'ah*, *Munqidhat al-'Abīd min Ribqat at-Taqlīd*, which dealt with deliverance from the noose of imitation, and *al-Mabāḥith al-Marḍiyyah as-Saniyyah fī Nazāhat al-Anbiyā' 'an Kullī mā Yunqīṣ Maqāmātihim al-'Aliyyah az-Zakiyyah*, a text discussing the Islamic religious concept of Prophetic transcendence which rebuts anything that decreases their high stations.²²² Among the works that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad read with Aḥmad al-Jawharī were ash-Sha'rānī's (d. 973/1565) *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣūfiyyah*, a biographical compilation on eminent *Ṣūfis*.²²³

According to al-Fādānī, al-Jawharī compiled a list of his own teachers in his *Thabat al-Jawharī*, of which a copy was reportedly owned by al-Kattānī. The latter points out that al-Jawharī's *Thabat* included a list of his teachers and copies of *ijāzahs* written and given to him by the first fifteen teachers listed in that work.²²⁴

The historian al-Jabartī reports that al-Jawharī died in Cairo at sunset, on Wednesday, 8 Jumādā al-Ūlā 1182/20 September 1768. Funeral rites were held at al-Azhar Mosque with an overflow of mourners and he was interred at az-Zāwiyah al-Qādiriyyah.²²⁵

The next Egyptian teacher of al-Falimbānī was Muḥammad al-Jawharī.²²⁶ He is Shams ad-Dīn Abū Hādī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khālidi ash-Shāfi'ī, better known as Ibn al-Jawharī (1151-1215/1738-1800). He was the youngest among the sons of the aforementioned Aḥmad al-Jawharī, and was thus known as al-Jawharī aṣ-Ṣaghīr to distinguish him from his father as well as his two brothers, Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jawharī (1132-87/1719-73) and 'Abd al-Fattāḥ b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jawharī (1141-1215/1728-1800), who were also leading scholars of Egypt.²²⁷

Muḥammad al-Jawharī was born in Egypt and grew up under the guidance of his father and, like him, was known as a traditionalist. He also studied with his brother Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Jawharī and other leading Egyptian scholars of his father's generation such as Aḥmad al-Mullawī, 'Aṭīyyah al-Burhānī al-Qāhirī al-Ajhūrī (d. 1194/1780), Khalīl b. Muḥammad at-Tūnī al-Maghribī, and Ḥasan al-Jabartī (d. 1188/1774). His expertise included the field of *fiqh* and he was such a prominent Shāfi'ī *faqīh* in Egypt that the Shāfi'ī scholars unanimously nominated him for the Office of Al-Azhar rectorship after the death of Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī (d. 1192/1778) but he declined the nomination.²²⁸

Although he lived mostly in Egypt, Muḥammad al-Jawharī travelled frequently to *al-Ḥaramayn*, where besides performing the *hajj*, he studied and taught students there. In 1168/1754, he accompanied his father to the *hajj* and took the opportunity to study in aṭ-Ṭā'if with 'Abd Allāh al-Mirghani, the above-mentioned teacher of al-Falimbānī. He later wrote a commentary on al-Mirghani's *al-Mu'jam al-Wajīz [fī Ahādīth an-Nabī al-'Azīz]*.²²⁹ In 1187/1773 and 1199/1784, he again went for *hajj* with his family where he stayed for a year and conducted lectures at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām.²³⁰ Apart from meeting him in Egypt, it is also likely that al-Falimbānī attended his teaching sessions during these visits to Mecca. We know that, al-Falimbānī was already back in Mecca in 1187/1773 after staying in Medina since he completed his work on *jihād* entitled *Naṣīhat al-Muslimīn* in Mecca in that year. Another *Jāwī* scholar, Muḥammad Nafīs al-Banjārī relates that in 1201/1786 he attended Muḥammad al-Jawharī's teaching sessions at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca and among the lessons were lectures on *taṣawwuf*.²³¹

Muḥammad al-Jawharī was also a prolific author, which added to his fame as one of the leading Egyptian scholars. Al-Baghdādī provides forty titles by him, while al-Bayṭār lists thirty-seven of them; most of his writings deal with jurisprudence, theology, grammar and *taṣawwuf*. Muḥammad al-Jawharī was also evidently proficient in *'ilm al-falak* (astronomy) and he compiled a treatise on the method of astronomical calculations to determine the visibility of the crescent moon for the fasting month (*Ramaḍān*) entitled *Khulāṣat al-Bayān fī Kayfiyyat Thubūt Ramaḍān*.²³² The younger al-Jawharī died in Cairo on Sunday, 21 Dhū al-Qa'dah 1215/5 April 1801 and funeral rites were held at al-Azhar

with an overflow of mourners and he was interred next to his father and brother at az-Zāwiyah al-Qādiriyyah.²³³

Another Egyptian teacher of al-Falimbānī was Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Āmir b. Khidr ash-Sharnūbī al-Burhānī al-Kharibtāwī²³⁴ al-Miṣrī al-Mālikī (1080-1170/1669-1757). He was a scholar of *ḥadīth* and was given the honorific title *al-musnid*.²³⁵ According to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, he was born in Kharibtā, in the governorate of al-Buḥayrah, north Egypt, and studied with eminent scholars of his time such as Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Azharī az-Zurqānī al-Mālikī (1055-1122/1645-1710), and al-Kharashī, among others.²³⁶ According to al-Fādānī, Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī's students included 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Bakārī from al-Quṭay', Yemen, Amr Allāh b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī, and Abū al-Qāsim b. Sulaymān al-Hajjām. All four studied az-Zurqānī's *Sharḥ al-Muwaḥḥa*, a commentary on Imām Mālik's famous work, and the rest of az-Zurqānī's works with him. Al-Kharibtāwī had read the *Sharḥ* with the expositor, Muḥammad az-Zurqānī, together with the rest of his works, such as *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib al-Ladunniyyah*, and *Mukhtaṣar al-Maqāṣid al-Ḥasanah fī Bayān Kathīrin min 'l-Aḥādīth al-Mushtahirah 'alā 'l-ʿAlsinah*.²³⁷ In another *isnād*, al-Fādānī also points out that al-Falimbānī read Yāsīn al-Ḥimṣī's (d. 1061/1650) *Ḥāshiyat at-Taṣrīḥ 'alā 'l-Tawḍīḥ*, a work on Arabic grammar, with Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī, who in turn had studied it with Ilyās al-Kūrānī, who had studied it with Ḥasan al-'Ujāymī, who had studied it with Aḥmad al-Bannā ad-Dimyāṭī, who in turn had studied with its author Yāsīn al-Ḥimṣī, originally from Ḥimṣ in Syria.²³⁸

Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī lived to a very old age (*mu'ammār*) so that his *isnād* was regarded as superior and was highly sought after, as he included in his *isnād* the earlier generations as well as the later ones, or as Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī puts it, "*wa-'āsha ḥattā alḥaqa al-aḥfād bi 'l-ajdād*," that is, he spanned three generations of active scholars. Az-Zabīdī himself met Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī and received *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah* from him together with his *ijāzah*.²³⁹ He died in Egypt in Jumādā ath-Thāniyah 1170/February 1757.²⁴⁰

According to al-Bayṭār, his son, Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī (d. 1207/1792), like his father, was also a learned scholar,

who in turn studied with, among others, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī. He was later requested by az-Zabīdī to write a *taqrīz*, a brief statement highlighting the value of his multi-volume comprehensive dictionary, *Tāj al-'Arūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs*. The requested magnificent *taqrīz* was actually dated 10 Rajab 1184/30 October 1770.²⁴¹

A noted teacher of al-Falimbānī who was associated with Egypt was 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydārūs (1135-93/1722-79).²⁴² According to two of his students, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, his full name is Waḥīh ad-Dīn Abū al-Marāḥim as-Sayyid 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā b. Shaykh b. Muṣṭafā al-'Aydārūs al-Ḥusaynī at-Tarīmī al-Miṣrī ash-Shāfi'ī an-Naqshabandī. He originated from Hadramawt in Yemen and was born in Tarīm at sunset on Tuesday, 9 Ṣafār 1135/19 November 1722. He later migrated to at-Ṭā'if, and eventually to Egypt. His genealogy could be traced back to Ḥusayn b. 'Alī ^{rahmatullahi alayhi}, the maternal grandson of the Prophet SAW. He initially studied with his father and grandfather, who both gave him their *ijāzah* and invested him with the *Ṣūfī* cloak (*albasahu al-khirqah*). He mastered *fiqh* under the guidance of Waḥīh ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh Balfaqīh Bā-'Alawī (d. 1163/1749) who also granted him his *ijāzah* for all the works he had transmitted (*marwiyyātih*).²⁴³ 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Balfaqīh had studied with leading scholars of his time such as the renowned Tarīm saint, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād (d. 1132/1719), and al-Ḥaramayn scholars such as 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad an-Nakhlī, and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. It was from the latter he received his superior *isnād*.²⁴⁴

Accompanying his father, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydārūs had earlier travelled to India from Tarīm, first reaching Bandar ash-Shiḥr (a port city in South Yemen which functioned as a doorway for the interior of Hadramawt) in 1153/1740, meeting 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Miḥḍār al-'Aydārūs there, who transmitted to him the *dhiḥr* formula (*talqīn adh-dhiḥr*), investing him with the *Ṣūfī* cloak and granting both he and his father a general *ijāzah*. They continued to Bandar Sūrat (City of Surat, India) where he joined his own brother 'Abd Allāh al-Bāhir and visited his relatives and the local saints. They reached the City of Barūj on 15 Sha'bān 1161/10 August 1748, where he met the Miḥḍār of India, as-Sayyid Aḥmad b. ash-Shaykh al-'Aydārūs, thence went back to Sūrat. His father travelled back to Tarīm, Yemen, while he stayed with his

brother 'Abd Allāh al-Bāhir and his uncle, Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-'Aydārūs. During his sojourn in India, he was also reported to have travelled to Jāwah, where several of his miracles (*karāmāt*) began to appear during his journey, and he then returned to Sūrat and thence back to Yemen.²⁴⁵

'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydārūs travelled to Mecca to perform the *hajj* from Yemen, and later visited the Prophet's SAW tomb in Medina, where he also met and studied with Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī, Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sindī aṣ-Ṣaghīr, Ibrāhīm b. Fayḍ Allāh as-Sindī, Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Baytī and Muḥammad ad-Dāghistānī (originally from Dagestan in the Caucasus). In Mecca, he studied with 'Umar b. Aḥmad as-Saqqāf, Muḥammad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib (d. 1170/1756), 'Abd Allāh b. Sahl, 'Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān Mājramī, Muḥammad Bā-Qushyār, and 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. 'Alawī Mad-hūr (d. 1160/1747), the latter was a student of 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaddād. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydārūs then went to aṭ-Ṭā'if to visit the tomb of Ibn 'Abbās ^{raḥimallāhu anḥum}, where he also studied with 'Abd Allāh Mīrghani.²⁴⁶

In 1158/1745, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydārūs visited Egypt and studied with leading scholars of his time. Among them were: Aḥmad al-Mullawī, Aḥmad al-Jawharī, Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnī, the previously mentioned founder of the al-Khalwatiyyah al-Ḥifnāwiyyah *Ṣūfī* order in Egypt, and his brother Yūsuf al-Ḥifnī.²⁴⁷ It is worth noting that according to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, all four scholars also studied with al-'Aydārūs *tabarukkan* (seeking his blessing), which clearly indicates his esteemed rank in Ṣūfism. A year later, in 1159/1746, he travelled to Mecca with the Egyptian *hajj* caravan where he married his cousin, ash-Sharīfah 'Alawiyyah al-'Aydārūsiyyah, and resided at as-Salāmah in aṭ-Ṭā'if. He travelled to Egypt for the second time in 1162/1748 with the Egyptian *hajj* caravan and stayed for a year, then returned to aṭ-Ṭā'if. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī relates that he himself met al-'Aydārūs in Mecca in 1163/1749. However, this was only for a short period as az-Zabīdī was travelling back to Yemen and al-'Aydārūs to aṭ-Ṭā'if. With the intention of meeting him, az-Zabīdī travelled again from Yemen in 1166/1752, first arriving at Mecca, and after performing the *hajj* headed to aṭ-Ṭā'if. He stayed in al-'Aydārūs's house in as-Salāmah and learned both the exoteric and esoteric Islamic sciences (*al-mantūq wa 'l-maḥlūm min 'l-'ulūm*) for more than six months. Later, al-'Aydārūs invested him

with the *Ṣūfī* cloak and granted him *ijāzahs* for all his transmitted texts (*marwīyyāt*) and his *Ṣūfī ṭarīqah silsilahs*. He encouraged az-Zabīdī to travel to Egypt and described his own reception by the Egyptian 'ulamā', rulers (*al-umarā'*) and men of letters (*al-udabā'*), and their hospitality, as well as the presence of prominent saints (*al-awliyā' al-a'lām*) during his visits. After performing the *hajj* in the following year, az-Zabīdī travelled to Egypt.²⁴⁸

In 1168/1754, al-'Aydārūs arrived again in Egypt where he stayed for a year, and az-Zabīdī took this opportunity to "be as close to him as a patient to a physician," as he puts it, "*lāzamtuhu mulāzamat al-marīḍ at-ṭabīb*." In Mecca, al-'Aydārūs married another woman relative ash-Sharīfah Ruqayyah al-'Alawiyyah, the daughter of Sayyid Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Bā-Harūn in 1172/1758 and a year later, in 1173/1759 she gave birth to their son, Muṣṭafā. Eventually, in 1174/1760 he migrated with his family to Egypt, where he continued to reside for seventeen years until his death on Tuesday night, 12 Muḥarram 1192/10 February 1778. His funeral rites were held at al-Azhar and the funeral prayer was led by *Ṣūfī* Shaykh, Aḥmad ad-Dardīr (d. 1201/1787) with an overflow of mourners, and he was interred at Maqām al-'Atrīs, near the Zaynab Shrine (*Mashhad as-Sayyidah Zaynab*).²⁴⁹

Al-'Aydārūs also had travelled extensively in Palestine including Gaza, Nāblūs, and Jerusalem. The Damascene *muḥaddith* and renowned Ḥanafī scholar, Ibn 'Ābidīn (d. 1252/1836) relates that al-'Aydārūs arrived in Damascus in 1183/1769 where he stayed for two months with Ḥusayn al-Murādī (d. 1188/1774), the paternal uncle of the renowned biographer (author of *Salk ad-Durar*) Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī. He also visited Ottoman Anatolia (*ad-Diyār ar-Rūmiyyah*) in 1191/1777. In short, his extensive travels in India took him ten years, he performed the *hajj* seventeen times, and he made three journeys from al-Ḥijāz to Cairo, where he settled and undertook six visits to Upper Egypt (aṣ-Ṣa'īd) and eight to Dimyāt – in lower Egypt.²⁵⁰

Al-'Aydārūs had numerous works attributed to him. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī provides sixty-two titles, Zabārah lists forty-three titles, and al-Baghdādī lists thirty-five of them.²⁵¹ His works dealt with virtually all branches of the Islamic religious disciplines; *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *tawḥīd*, and especially *taṣawwuf*, such as *Laṭā'if al-Jūd fī Mas'alat Waḥdat al-Wujūd*

(Niceties of Munificence on the Question of 'Oneness of Being'),²⁵² *Faydat an-Nafahāt fī Mas'alat aṣ-Ṣifāt*, on the Question of God's attributes,²⁵³ *Sharḥ Ṣalāt Aḥmad al-Badawī*, an exposition of the prayers of the most popular *Ṣūfī* saint in Egypt, Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675/1276). He wrote two works on the Naqshabandiyyah *Ṣūfī ṭarīqah* entitled *Ithāf al-Khalīl* (Gift to Friends), and *an-Nafḥat al-'Aydrūsiyyah fī 'l-Ṭarīqat an-Naqshabandiyyah*.²⁵⁴ In addition, Sayyid 'Uthmān al-Batāwī al-Jāwī listed two titles in his *isnād* work entitled *as-Silsilat an-Nabawiyyah*, attributed to al-'Aydarūs. They were, *Mir'āt ash-Shumūs [fī Silsilat al-Quṭb al-'Aydarūs]* and *Iqd al-Jawāhir fī Faḍl Ahl Bayt an-Nabī at-Ṭāhir*, both works on excellence (*faḍl*) of the family of the Prophet SAW, which appears to have been once widely read in the Malay Archipelago.²⁵⁵

From his extensive travels and his numerous works, it is clear that al-'Aydarūs's studies with many of the major teachers in the revivalist group in Mecca, Medina and Egypt were extensive. Apart from giving instructions in the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) sciences, he was also a leading scholar on the esoteric (*bāṭin*) sciences and was an active *Ṣūfī* scholar of the Naqshabandiyyah and 'Aydrūsiyyah Orders. His students included some of the leading figures in late eighteenth century neo-*Ṣūfism*, and he appears to have been an important link among those scholars. Through him, for example, one can see a connection between the great Naqshabandiyyah family in Syria, the Murādīs, and the Khalwatiyyah students of Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī in Egypt such as Muḥammad al-Ḥifnī and Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr.²⁵⁶

One of his most celebrated disciples was Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, who relates: "as the number of visitors from distant places requesting his *isnāds* on the *Ṣūfī ṭarīqahs* multiplied, while most of the time he was in the state of [spiritual] immersion, he instructed me to collect his *isnāds*.²⁵⁷ I compiled a book consisting of ten fascicules in his name, which he called *an-Nafḥat al-Quddūsiyyah bi-Wāsiṭat al-Biḍ'ah al-'Aydrūsiyyah*. This was in 1171/1757. Numerous copies were made from this work, and the [spiritual] benefits from this were wide-spread." According to al-Kattānī, *an-Nafḥat* is in ten booklets listing one hundred and seventy *Ṣūfī ṭarīqahs* together with their complete *isnāds*.²⁵⁸

It is important to remember that by the middle of the eighteenth century, some Arab scholars had gained prominent positions in the royal

court of Palembang and it was reported that in 1168/1754, a 'certain Sayyid al-'Aydarūs' had married the sister of the Palembang ruler, Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Hence, several Sayyids (whose actual names are unknown to us) began to flock to the Sultanate and gain control of the religious hierarchy. Azra describes them as 'senior priests' and one of the Sayyids was even titled as '*Tuan Besar*' (great lord).²⁵⁹ Perhaps this is rather a simple equivalent of the Old Sayyid (*as-Sayyid al-Kabīr*).

One might be tempted to identify and link the 'certain Sayyid al-'Aydarūs' to our scholar under discussion. This is because 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydarūs was known to have been a wandering scholar of Yemen before finally settling in Egypt. We know that he had travelled to Jāwah from India during his extensive travels, which began in the year 1153/1740. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī relates clearly that he travelled to the land of Jāwah during his sojourn in India (*wa-ḥiṭṭhā dhālik rakība ilā bilād Jāwah*).²⁶⁰ Since his travels and sojourn in India took him ten years, his travel to Jāwah must have been approximately after 1163/1750. Unfortunately, there are no records of the exact date of his travel to Jāwah. Nevertheless, there is some probability that the 'certain Sayyid al-'Aydarūs' might be our 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydarūs, especially since he was known to be an eminent scholar in addition to his saintly ability when *karāmāt* began to appear during his journey to Jāwah.²⁶¹

On the other hand, there is also a probability that this 'certain Sayyid al-'Aydarūs' was another scholar who comes from the same al-'Aydarūs family. According to al-Fādānī, among the scholars of Palembang in the eighteenth century with whom Nawawī al-Bantanī read Ibn Abī Jamrah's (d. 695/1295 or 699/1300) *Mukhtaṣar Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* was Maḥmūd b. Kinān al-Falimbānī, who in turn learned it from as-Sulṭān aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Badr ad-Dīn Maḥmūd b. as-Sulṭān Maṣṣūr b. as-Sulṭān 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, who read it with *Shaykh al-Islām Qāḍī as-Saṭṭanah* as-Sayyid 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alawī b. Aḥmad al-'Aydarūs al-Falimbānī, who in turn learned it in Mecca from 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Jād Allāh al-Bannānī al-Maghribī (d. 1198/1784),²⁶² who received it from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mullawī, who received it from 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, and so forth to the author, Ibn Abī Jamrah.²⁶³ Since he was appointed as the 'Sultanate Judge' (*Qāḍī as-Saṭṭanah*) in Palembang, it is highly probable that he was the 'certain Sayyid al-'Aydarūs' who married the

sister of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and was appointed to religious office. Thus, the intended al-'Aydārūs must have been Sayyid 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn al-'Aydārūs and not our Sayyid 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā al-'Aydārūs, unless there is some confusion in the genealogy. Nevertheless, since they come from the same al-'Aydārūs family, they probably met each other during the latter's travel to *Jāwah*.

Our contemporary, 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥabshī points out that Muṣṭafā b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydārūs (1173-99/1759-84) who was born in aṭ-Ṭā'if and died in Egypt, compiled his father's biography in his *Faṭḥ al-Muḥaymin al-Quddūs fī Manāqib Sayyidinā 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā al-'Aydārūs*.²⁶⁴ (Perhaps, this work might provide further accounts on his travel to *Jāwah*. But, unfortunately, I have not been able to trace any copy of this work).

Although we do not have sufficient evidence to assess the influence of al-'Aydārūs on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, we know that among the works that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī read with him were al-Fākihī's (d. 972/1564) *al-Fawākih al-Janiyyah Sharḥ Mutammimat al-Ājrūmiyyah* and *Sharḥ Qaṭr an-Nadā*, both works on Arabic grammar, and al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* and *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*. With his *isnād*, al-Falimbānī also relates other works of al-Ghazālī, including *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, *Kitāb al-Arba'īn fī 'l-Uṣūl*, *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān*, and others.²⁶⁵ This is significant as al-Falimbānī soon developed an abiding interest in al-Ghazālī's works. Also important to note is that since al-'Aydārūs was one of the leading scholars in esoteric sciences and *Ṣūfī tarīqahs*, al-Falimbānī must have benefited greatly from his instructions and works. This must have included complex *Ṣūfī* questions such as the *Ṣūfī* doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, particularly we know that al-'Aydārūs wrote his *Laṭā'if al-Jūd fī Mas'alat Waḥdat al-Wujūd* and *Fayḍat an-Nafaḥāt fī Mas'alat aṣ-Ṣifāt* to address such questions. Al-'Aydārūs's journey to *Jāwah* is another significant dimension of his place as 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad's learning.

The next scholar in the list of al-Falimbānī's Egyptian teachers was Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī (1145-1205/1732-90).²⁶⁶ Known variously as Abū al-Fayḍ, Abū al-Jūd, and Abū al-Waqt, as-Sayyid Muḥammad Murtaḍā b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Ḥusaynī al-'Alawī al-Wāsiṭī al-Biljramī al-Hindī az-Zabīdī al-Miṣrī al-Qādirī

an-Naqshabandī, is more widely known as Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī. He was a leading Ḥanafī scholar, a great lexicographer, linguist, theologian, *Ṣūfī*, *muḥaddith*, a grandmaster in genealogy and biographies (*ansāb* and *rijāl*).²⁶⁷ His extensive Dictionary (*Tāj al-ʿArūs*) may be considered the climax of Arabic classical Lexicography and is strong evidence of his magnificent scholarship.²⁶⁸

According to al-Qannūjī, az-Zabīdī's ancestors originally came from Wāsiṭ in Iraq but he was born in Bilgram, a town about forty kilometres from Kannauj (presently in Uttar Pradesh, India) around 10 Muḥarram 1145/3 July 1732. Perhaps, he only stayed in India for a relatively short period, and then migrated to Zabīd, Yemen to study, and apparently, his sojourn in Zabīd was for quite some time from whence is derived his *nisbah*, az-Zabīdī. This, al-Qannūjī added, had somehow overshadowed the public knowledge that his place of birth was in Bilgram, India.²⁶⁹

Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī travelled extensively to al-Ḥijāz including Jeddah, Mecca, Medina and at-Ṭāʾif, and later arrived in Egypt on 9 Ṣafar 1167/5 December 1753, where he settled and became renowned in the Islamic world during his own lifetime. Kings and rulers from Turkey, al-Ḥijāz, India, Yemen, Syria, Iraq, Morocco, Sudan and Algiers corresponded with him, and people sent him presents and gifts from everywhere. He was admired and venerated greatly, to an extent that some people in North Africa (*ahl al-Maghrib*) believed that their *hajj* was incomplete if, on their way to Mecca, they did not visit and honour him in Egypt.²⁷⁰

As al-Kattānī notes in his *Fahras*, "az-Zabīdī was peerless in his time and age. None after Ibn al-Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī and his students can match him in terms of his encyclopaedic knowledge of traditions and associated sciences, nor in fame or number of students."²⁷¹

Not only Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī had many students, but he also had originally studied with numerous teachers. Al-Qannūjī relates that he listed more than three hundred teachers in one of his *Barnāmij* [*ash-Shuyūkh*]. These included Indian scholars such as the *muḥaddith* Muḥammad Fākhir b. Yaḥyā al-Ilāh-Ābādī and *musnid al-waqt* (*isnād-expert* of his time), the famous Shāh Walī Allāh Aḥmad b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm ad-Dihlawī (1114-76/1703-62), whose teaching sessions he attended at his house in Delhi.²⁷² Walī Allāh ad-Dihlawī in turn studied with Munlā

Ilyās al-Kūrānī (1047-1138/1637-1726), who was a student of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.²⁷³

According to 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, among the scholars with whom Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī studied in Zabīd were Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Maqbūl al-Ahdal and his contemporaries, such as 'Abd al-Khāliq b. Abī Bakr al-Mizjājī, and Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī, and those who studied with this generation, such as Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ahdal.²⁷⁴ During his study in Zabīd in 1163/1749, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī relates that he received *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* highly from Muḥammad b. 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī, who in turn received it by way of written *ijāzah* from Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī in 1100/1688.²⁷⁵ It should be emphasised that the kinds of *ijāzah* are particularly significant in the context of contacts among scholars. In this way, for instance, Muḥammad al-Mizjājī (1102-80/1690-1766), who was born a year after al-Kūrānī's death in 1101/1689, received his written *ijāzah* given to his father 'Alā' ad-Dīn al-Mizjājī and all his children in 1100/1688, and hence was considered a valid transmitter from al-Kūrānī without actually meeting him in person.

Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī himself provides a list of his teachers in some of his works, particularly his *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ* (also known as *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*), in his *Alfiyyat as-Sanad* and in *al-Mu'jam aṣ-Ṣaghīr* (also known as *Barnāmiy ash-Shuyūkh*). In this regard, al-Kattānī relates that he found a copy of the *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr* in Medina from which he made a copy. He describes it as consisting of more than six hundred biographical notices of his teachers and students.²⁷⁶ At this point, it is important to remember that nearly all of al-Falimbānī's teachers whom we have examined so far were also connected directly to Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī as either his teachers or his students.

The best known among his disciples were 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Wanā'ī, Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-'Aṭṭār, Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī, Muḥammad ash-Shanawānī, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd ar-Rasūl al-'Aṭṭār al-Makkī, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī. As for al-Falimbānī, he read with Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī all his works including his celebrated dictionary, *Tāj al-'Arūs Sharḥ al-Qāmūs*, and his voluminous commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* entitled *Iṭḥāf as-Sādat al-Muttaqīn Sharḥ Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*. In addition, he also learned from him other Islamic scholarly works such as 'Umar as-

Suhrawardī's (d. 632/1234) *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, a venerable *Ṣūfī* classic and manual for daily study and practice, and all the works of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792), the founder of the so-called Wahhābī movement, including his *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd fī Ḥaq Allāh 'alā 'l-'Abīd*.²⁷⁷

In addition to his numerous teachers and students, and his intellectual distinction and personality, az-Zabīdī also wrote prolifically on *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, Arabic, lexicography, *tawḥīd*, *taṣawwuf*, history, *ansāb* (genealogy), and *tarājim* (biographies) that he compared the number of his writings to a 'lumber of jasmine' as he puts it, "*mu'allaḥātī hiyā min saqaṭ al-matā' mithl al-yāsamin*."²⁷⁸ He is said to have written more than one hundred works, and his biographer even compares him to as-Suyūṭī, calling him the 'Suyūṭī of his time' (*Suyūṭī zamānīh*).²⁷⁹ In one of his *ijāzahs* to a student, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī provided sixty-three titles, while al-Baghdādī listed forty-nine titles, and al-Jabartī listed forty-five of them.²⁸⁰ Though he is primarily remembered today for his lexicographical work, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, his genuine interest in *ḥadīth* scholarship is beyond doubt. On *ḥadīth* and *isnād* alone, al-Kattānī listed fifty-one titles that az-Zabīdī wrote.²⁸¹

Furthermore, his *ḥadīth* erudition is reflected not just from these numerous titles, but also from the number of works he devoted to a particular category of *ḥadīth*. For instance, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī relates that the first *riwāyah* of *ḥadīth* that he received from 'Umar b. Aḥmad al-Makkī as-Saqqāf was *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah* when he met him in Medina on 23 Jumādā ath-Thāniyyah 1161/20 June 1748.²⁸² On this type of *ḥadīth* alone, az-Zabīdī is reported to have written four works, one of these was written specifically for his student, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī al-Atharī (d. 1200/1785) and was completed on 10 Rabī' ath-Thānī 1193/26 April 1779.²⁸³

Perhaps his most acclaimed work is his dictionary entitled *Tāj al-'Arūs*, which is based on Majd ad-Dīn al-Fayrūzābādī's (d. 818/1415) *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* and a considerable expansion of it. Some have noted that al-Fayrūzābādī's was meant to be a reference for scholars. Az-Zabīdī expanded this into a multi-volume dictionary which is considered his magnum opus. It is worth noting that in his prologue he relates that he benefited greatly in the art of the Arabic discipline from his teacher, Muḥammad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib al-Fāsī al-Madanī (1110-70/1698-1756) whom

he regarded as his main authority (*'umdaḥ*) in this field. He tells us that it took him fourteen years and two months to complete the *Tāj al-'Arūs* in 1181/1767 and upon its completion, threw a large banquet and invited many students and scholars of the time who wrote their praise of this work.²⁸⁴ Thus, by calculating backwards, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī probably started this work in 1167/1753 at the age of twenty-two. This coincides with the date of his first arrival in Egypt, already mentioned earlier, on 9 Ṣafār 1167/5 December 1753. It is worth noting that apart from Arabic, he was proficient in Turkish, Persian and the language of al-Karj or al-Kurj (perhaps the language of the Georgian people). He passed away in Egypt during a plague epidemic on Sunday, Sha'bān 1205/April 1790 and was buried at the Ruqayyah Shrine (*Mashhad as-Sayyidah Ruqayyah*) next to his first wife who had died in 1196/1781.

In addition to his *ḥadīth* expertise, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī without doubt was also a *Ṣūfī* master. Apparently, in terms of his *ṭarīqah* affiliation, he followed the an-Naqshabandiyyah *Ṣūfī* Order that he probably had received from his aforementioned teacher, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydārūs. He authored at least four works pertaining to this Order. Other works on *Ṣūfism* that he wrote include *Tanzīl Saḥā'ib ad-Durr li-Qurrā' Ḥizb al-Baḥr*, a commentary on ash-Shādhilī's (d. 656/1258) famous *Litany of the Sea*, a unique litany made of Qurā'nic verses and supplications, *Jadhwat al-Qabas fī Ḥuṣūl Natījat adh-Dhikr Ba'd Ḥifẓ an-Nafas*, perhaps on *Ṣūfī* breathing techniques while performing remembrance (*dhikr*), and *Sharḥ Ṣalawāt al-Quṣb 'Abd as-Salām b. Mashīsh*, a commentary on the prayers and litanies by Ibn Mashīsh (d. 625/1228) of Fes.

The last scholar in the list of al-Falimbānī's Egyptian teachers²⁸⁵ was Abū al-Ḥasan, also nicknamed Abū an-Nūr, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Barr b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Karshī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥalfāwī al-Ḥasanī al-Wanā'ī (or al-Wafā'ī) ash-Shāfī'ī al-Ash'arī al-Khalwatī al-Azharī al-Miṣrī al-Makkī (d. 1211/1796), mentioned earlier as a student of Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī. His genealogy is traced back to Ḥasan b. 'Alī ^{raḍiyallāhu 'anhu}, maternal grandson of the Prophet SAW. 'Alī al-Wanā'ī was born in Cairo in 1170/1756 and towards the end of his life migrated to al-Ḥijāz where he later died in Medina.²⁸⁶ Unfortunately, al-Falimbānī himself and al-Fādānī do not tell us where the former met and studied with al-Wanā'ī. However, looking at the date of al-Wanā'ī's move to Medina

around 1210/1795, it is unlikely that al-Falimbānī studied with him at that time as he himself was already at his apex of writing and teaching. Furthermore, al-Wanā'ī was one of Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī's close students, which makes it highly plausible that al-Falimbānī met him previously during his own study with az-Zabīdī in Egypt.

Obviously, from his full chain of names and *nisbah*, al-Wanā'ī followed the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence, the Ash'arite School of Islamic theology, and in Sūfism he followed the path of the Khalwatiyyah *Ṣūfī* Order. He was initiated into this Order by Aḥmad ad-Dardīr al-'Adawī (1127-1201/1715-86) in 1197/1783 who also granted him authorisation (*adhina lahu bi 't-talqīn*) to transmit the *dhikr* formula to novices. Ad-Dardīr was the disciple of al-Ḥifnī, who was a *khalīfah* of Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī in Egypt, Muḥammad b. Sālim in 1172/1758.²⁸⁷

Al-Wanā'ī was described as one of the Egyptian geniuses who unfortunately, only lived for about forty years. Al-Kattānī remarks: "had he lived longer, he would have surpassed and overshadowed many of his own teachers." Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī praised him as an exceptional student and handed him his commentary on al-Ghazālī's *al-Iḥyā'*, requesting him to examine it. He examined it closely and pointed out several mistakes that were then rectified by his teacher. He glittered with light and his knowledge dealing with the heart was well established.²⁸⁸ Evidently, his talent was obvious even at an early age as he was reported to have authored books on *aqā'id* (creed), *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*, *farā'id* (rules of inheritance), grammar, rhetoric and logic which he began at the age of eighteen.²⁸⁹

In an *ijāzah* granted by Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī on 24 Shawwāl 1196/2 October 1782, 'Alī al-Wanā'ī relates that he attended one of his teaching sessions at his house in Suwayqat al-Lālā, Egypt, when he received the *ḥadīth al-awwaliyyah* all over again ('*awdan 'alā bad*'). In another *ijāzah*, he relates that he attended the teaching session of Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Jum'ah al-Bujayramī ash-Shāfi'ī (d. 1197/1782) in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1196/November 1782.²⁹⁰ Thus, we know he was still studying in Egypt until the late twelfth century A.H.

In addition to studying with Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, 'Alī al-Wanā'ī learned from such scholars as Muḥammad al-Ḥifnī, 'Isā b. Aḥmad al-Barāwī (d. 1182/1768), 'Aṭīyyah al-Ajhūrī (d. 1194/1780), Aḥmad

b. Jum'ah al-Bujayramī, Muṣṭafā b. Raḥmat Allāh al-Ayyūbī (1135-1205/1722-90) better known as ar-Raḥmatī ad-Dimashqī, who attended as a child of eight 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī's teaching sessions in the last years of his life, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad an-Numrusī, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ad-Dardīr al-'Adawī. The oldest of his teachers from whom he inherited 'superior *isnāds*' (*al-isnād al-'ālī*) was al-Mu'ammār 'Abd al-Qādir b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Andalusī and later al-Miṣrī who had lived for one hundred and twenty eight years.²⁹¹

Al-Wanā'ī had numerous students including his own peers such as the Medinese *muḥaddith* Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī (d. 1218/1803) with whom he exchanged *isnāds*, and scholars of the younger generation such as 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd ar-Rasūl al-'Aṭṭār, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Aḥdal, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Kuzbarī and Muḥammad b. 'Aydārūs al-Ḥabshī. All received the *ḥadīth al-awwaliyyah* from him and were granted his general *ijāzah*.²⁹² In fact, he granted the scholars resident of Mecca his general *ijāzah* dated Thursday, 22 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1207/31 July 1793 and permitted those who were present on that day to narrate from him by way of this *ijāzah*.²⁹³

His Meccan student 'Umar al-'Aṭṭār, who regarded him as his authority ('*umdaḥ*) relates that he arrived in Mecca in 1203/1788 and stayed there for three years. After his visit to the Prophet's SAW tomb in Medina, he went back to Egypt and stayed for sometime when he finally received the prophetic instruction to return to Medina and was foretold of the glad tidings that he will die there. He immediately travelled to Mecca where he stayed and performed the pilgrimage, thence to Medina where he died on 21 Muḥarram 1211/27 July 1796 and was interred at al-Baqī' cemetery.²⁹⁴

According to al-Kattānī, al-Wanā'ī compiled the list of his teachers in two *ṭabats*, one large and one small, the latter, on narrations that he received specifically from his teacher Aḥmad b. Jum'ah al-Bujayramī. The small *ṭabat*, he added, was discovered by Aḥmad Abū al-Khayr in India in 1325/1907 who pointed out that it contained al-Wanā'ī's *ijāzah* written in his own handwriting granted to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ ar-Ra'īs az-Zamzamī al-Makkī.²⁹⁵

Among al-Wanā'ī's works were his *thabat* entitled *al-Mawāhib as-Saniyyah fī 'l-Asānid al-Wanā'iyyah*, probably the above mentioned large *thabat*, *Mansik al-Wanā'ī*, apparently a work on the rules and rites of pilgrimage, *Kashf Niqāb Manhaj at-Tullāb*, a work on *fiqh*, *ad-Dalālat al-Mu'tabarah bi-Sharḥ al-'Aqīdah al-Musammāt bi 'l-Jawharah*, and *Imdād Jāmi' al-Haqā'iq bi-Sharḥ al-Mawrid ar-Rā'iq*, both on *tawḥīd*, *Durrat as-Sālikīn fī Riḍā' Rabb al-'Ālamīn*, and *Najāt ar-Rūḥ wa-Kanz al-Futūḥ*, both works, as noted by 'Aydarūs al-Ḥabshī, were significant works on Ṣūfism, and a work on asceticism entitled *az-Zahrāt al-'Ulyā fī 't-Taḥdhīr min Matā' al-Ḥayāt ad-Dunyā*, completed in 1201/1786.²⁹⁶

Al-Falimbānī possibly had met and studied with 'Alī al-Wanā'ī during his travel to Egypt. However, he also indicated that he studied with him in Mecca probably during his three year stay in Mecca from 1203/1788 and just before al-Falimbānī left for Zabīd in 1206/1791.²⁹⁷ Among the religious works that al-Falimbānī learned from him were Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī's (d. 465/1072) *ar-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah*, the celebrated Ṣūfī manual, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's (d. 926/1520) *Lubb al-Uṣūl*, and its commentary, *Ghāyat al-Wuṣūl*, both works on principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), all the works of Ibn 'Abd as-Salām (d. 660/1261) including his *al-Qawā'id al-Kubrā* on *fiqh*, and Ibn Abī ad-Dunyā's (d. 281/894) *Kitāb ash-Shukr* on *ḥadīth*.²⁹⁸

Damascus

Based on the list of the Damascene scholars with whom al-Falimbānī came into contact, and al-Fādānī's report that he studied with them in Damascus, it is plausible that he must have taken the opportunity to travel northward to Syria through Palestine during his period of sojourn in Egypt. The strongest evidence that shows al-Falimbānī travelled to Damascus was related by al-Fādānī when he says, "*wa-rawā 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad ayḍan ... bi-Dimashq 'an Muḥammad b. Sālim as-Saffārīnī, wa-Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-'Aṭṭār*," thus pointing out he studied with them in Damascus.²⁹⁹ From various sources, I was able to trace another two Syrian teachers of al-Falimbānī in addition to Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār and Muḥammad as-Saffārīnī. They are Muḥammad al-'Aqīlī and 'Umar al-Armanāzī. Thus, it is important to examine the biographies of these

four teachers, as they further show us the connections 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī had with Syrian scholars.

Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Askar b. Aḥmad al-Ḥimṣī al-'Aṭṭār ad-Dimashqī (1138-1218/1725-1803) was an important scholar from the al-'Aṭṭār family whose primary renown was as the *muḥaddith* of Syria during his time.³⁰⁰ His ancestors originated from Ḥimṣ (Homs), between Damascus and Ḥamāh. His genealogy is traced back to the Prophet SAW. He was born in Damascus and he died in that city.³⁰¹ Al-Bayṭār referred to him as Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Askar al-'Aṭṭār, omitting his grandfather 'Abd Allāh and giving his father's name as 'Ubayd Allāh. However, a copy of Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār's own *ijāzah* endorsed in his own handwriting and another *ijāzah* given to him by Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī clearly indicate that his father and grandfather were 'Ubayd and 'Abd Allāh respectively.³⁰²

In an unpublished manuscript copy of his *Thabat al-'Aṭṭār*, perhaps inscribed by one of his students, Muḥammad Anīs in 1265/1848, Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār listed sixteen of his Damascene teachers, a further three teachers who were visiting scholars in Damascus, and eight scholars whom he corresponded with and obtained their general *ijāzah*. He also provides titles of various books of Islamic disciplines which he has studied along with the *isnāds* to each of them.³⁰³

Among al-'Aṭṭār's Damascene teachers listed in the *Thabat* are 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kuzbarī (d. 1165/1752), Abū al-Ma'ālī Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ghazzī (1096-1167/1685-1753), Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-'Ajlūnī (d. 1162/1748), Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Manīnī (1089-1172/1678-1759), Ilyās b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1138/1726), Aḥmad al-Ba'li and others. All of them were students of the renowned Ḥanafī *Ṣūfī* shaykh, 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismā'īl an-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731).³⁰⁴

In addition to studying with Syrian scholars, Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār studied with visiting scholars to Damascus such as the above-mentioned *Ṣūfī* and *muftī* of Medina, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī, and two Palestinians, the *muftī* of al-Quds (Jerusalem), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad at-Tāfillātī (d. 1191/1777), and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī al-Khalīlī (d. 1200/1785) from Hebron. All three also granted him *ijāzahs*.

Furthermore, al-'Aṭṭār corresponded with a number of scholars of al-Hijāz and Egypt requesting their general *ijāzahs* to transmit their works.

They include, from al-Ḥijāz, Ja'far b. Ḥasan al-Barzanjī (d. 1177/1763), the famous author of *al-Mawlid*, and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Fattānī at-Ṭā'ifī; and Egyptian scholars such as Aḥmad al-Mullawī, Aḥmad al-Jawharī, the two brothers, Yūsuf (d. 1176/1763) and Muḥammad (d. 1181/1767) sons of Sālim al-Ḥifnī, 'Atīyyat Allāh al-Ajhūrī (d. 1194/1780) and Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī.³⁰⁵

His list of teachers was later compiled by one of his closest students 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Kuzbarī (d. 1262/1846) in his work entitled *Intikhāb al-'Awālī wa 'sh-Shuyūkh al-Akhyār min Fahāris Shaykhinā al-Imām al-Musnid al-'Aṭṭār*, which was completed in Sha'bān 1207/March 1793 and later endorsed by al-'Aṭṭār himself.³⁰⁶ Another student, Ibn 'Ābidīn relates that al-'Aṭṭār performed the *hajj* four times, in 1176/1762, 1196/1781, 1203/1789 and 1207/1792, and travelled to Egypt and Turkish Anatolia (*Bilād ar-Rūm*).³⁰⁷

It is clear that apart from his visits to *al-Ḥaramayn* for the *hajj*, Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār stayed for a while to establish contact with prominent scholars there as well as to teach. During his third visit to Mecca in Ramaḍān 1203/May 1789, he was requested by the Meccan *muḥaddith* 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-'Aṭṭār³⁰⁸ al-Makkī to give lectures on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* in al-Masjid al-Ḥarām. Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār then granted 'Umar his *ijāzah* for the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and all his narrations (*marwiyyātih*) and transmitted to him *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah*.³⁰⁹ It is important to point out that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī is unlikely to have met Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār in Mecca during this particular visit as he was busied with completing the final volume of his *Sayr as-Sālikīn* in at-Ṭā'if during Ramaḍān 1203/May 1789.³¹⁰ As for al-'Aṭṭār's fourth visit in 1207/1792, by that time al-Falimbānī had already left for Zabīd in 1206/1791. Therefore, al-Falimbānī must have met al-'Aṭṭār in Damascus earlier, perhaps in the early 1170's/1750's. As we will see shortly, his second Damascene teacher, as-Saffārīnī died in 1188/1774, and we know that from the dates of his works, al-Falimbānī was already in *al-Ḥaramayn* from 1178/1765 onwards, actively writing and teaching in Mecca.

Upon Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār's request, his contemporary Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī sent him an *ijāzah* from Egypt, dated Saturday, 28 Rajab 1203/24 May 1789. Later during his visit to Egypt, al-'Aṭṭār received the general

ijāzah directly from Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī who also instructed him in 'the mystical formula' and invested him with his *Ṣūfī* cloak, as al-'Aṭṭār himself explains, "*faqad ajāzanī al-ijāzat al-'āmmah wa-laqqanāni adh-dhikr al-khafī wa-albasanī khirqatahu*."³¹¹

Regarding al-'Aṭṭār's position in Damascus, ash-Shaṭṭī relates that the scholarly and *Ṣūfī* leadership (*mashyakha*) of Damascus at the turn of the thirteenth century A.H. was exemplified by Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār who was its shining star (*shihābuhā*) and Muḥammad al-Kuzbarī who was its sun (*shamsuhā*); they were twins in 'ilm and foster-brothers in piety. Al-'Aṭṭār was born in 1138/1725 and died in 1218/1803 at the age of eighty, while al-Kuzbarī was born in 1140/1727 and died in 1221/1806 at the age of eighty-one, and both shared the same teachers. It also happened that their sons' Ḥāmid al-'Aṭṭār and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Kuzbarī were almost exact contemporaries and close colleagues. The former was born in 1186/1772 and the latter in 1184/1770, and both were leading scholars of Syria like their respective fathers. They went on *hajj* together in 1263/1846, the latter died on his outward journey in Mecca, while the former died in al-Qaṭrānah (in modern south Jordan) during his return journey.³¹²

Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār was also reported to have played an important role against the French occupation in Egypt. When the French occupied Egypt and marched on the coastal area of Palestine and reached Ṣafad (modern Safed) and Nablus in 1214/1799, he set out to gather the people of Damascus for resistance and called for *jihād*. He incited them to go to *jihād* and explained to them the merit and reward of such action. He joined the army front line and marched towards the enemy willing to sacrifice his possessions, children and himself. He later died in Damascus on 9 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1218/28 July 1803.³¹³ It is important to note that al-Falimbānī who himself was al-'Aṭṭār's student, at the end of his life, was reported to have been involved in the *jihād* against the Thai occupation of Kedah. Perhaps, this involvement was partly influenced by the example of his teacher Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār.

Among the Islamic religious works that al-Falimbānī read with and learned from Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār was his teacher Ismā'īl al-'Ajlūnī's (d. 1162/1748) *Iqd al-Jawhar ath-Thamīn [fī Arba'īn Ḥadīthan min Aḥādīth Sayyid al-Mursalīn]*. With this *isnād* from al-'Aṭṭār, al-Falimbānī relates

the rest of al-'Ajlūnī's works.³¹⁴ However, al-'Aṭṭār himself was not a prolific author as all his biographers including al-Kattānī, al-Bayṭār, az-Ziriklī and Kaḥḥālāh only credit him with one work, namely his *Thabat*. This is perhaps why al-Fādānī only listed one *isnād* linking al-'Ajlūnī's works to al-Falimbānī through al-'Aṭṭār.

The second Damascene teacher of al-Falimbānī, Shams ad-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh (also Abū al-'Awn) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālim b. Sulaymān as-Saffārīnī an-Nābulusī al-Ḥanbalī al-Atharī al-Qādirī (d. 1188/1774), was a leading traditionist and a Ḥanbalī *faqīh* and a profound writer on various issues.³¹⁵ He was born and raised in Saffārīn, a village near Nablus, Palestine in 1114/1702, where he learned the Qur'ān and studied other Islamic sciences in Nablus in 1131/1718.³¹⁶

Muḥammad as-Saffārīnī then travelled to Damascus in 1133/1720 where he sojourned for five years and studied under such scholars as 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Umar al-Qādirī at-Taghlibī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1135/1722) who granted him *ijāzah* dated 1135/1722 just before the latter died, 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1143/1731) with whom he studied among others, his Qur'ānic exegesis according to Ṣūfism, and who later granted him his *ijāzah* dated 1138/1725, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Mujallid al-Ḥanafī (d. 1140/1727) who also granted him *ijāzah*, Ilyās al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī (d. 1138/1725) with whom he studied the rational sciences (*kutub al-ma'qūl*), Ismā'īl al-'Ajlūnī (d. 1162/1748), Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl ad-Dīn al-Bakrī (d. 1162/1748), and others.³¹⁷

As one can see in as-Saffārīnī's own work, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, his education was thorough. He studied many sciences, including *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *tafsīr*, sciences of the Arabic language, *sīrah* and *taṣawwuf*. In the *Thabat*, he devotes long pages to providing a list of his teachers and the titles of *ḥadīth* books he has studied, along with the *isnāds* to each of them. He goes on to mention books in other fields. As for *taṣawwuf*, he studied books written by such famous *Ṣūfīs* as al-Qushayrī, al-Ghazālī, al-Jīlānī, ash-Sha'rānī and the poet, al-Būṣīrī.

It is of particular importance that, in the *Thabat*, as-Saffārīnī also gives an account of several examples of *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal*, each with its own peculiarity. For instance, he tells us that he transmitted a *ḥadīth* narrated by Imām Muslim in his *aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* with continuous chains of Damascene scholars (*al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'd-Dimashqiyyīn*). He

received it from his Damascene teachers, 'Abd al-Qādir at-Taghlibī in 1135/1722, 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī, and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Mujallid, all three received it from their teacher, 'Abd al-Baqī ad-Dimashqī, and so forth to the companion Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī ^{radīyallāhu 'anhu} who himself had entered Damascus. Other *musalsals* also included *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-Ḥanbaliyyah* (continuous chains with Ḥanbalī scholars), *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-Muḥammadīn* (continuous chains with scholars named Muḥammad), and *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-Ḥanafīyyah* (continuous chains with Ḥanafī scholars).³¹⁸ Muḥammad as-Saffārīnī also points out that 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī granted him *ijāzah* for all his works, which come up to more than three hundred works on virtually every aspect of the Islamic disciplines.³¹⁹

During his *hajj* in 1148/1735, as-Saffārīnī took the opportunity to study with Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī in Medina where he received *ḥadīth* instruction through *samā'* by attending his teaching sessions, in particular *al-ḥadīth al-musalsal bi 'l-awwaliyyah* and the opening chapters of the six canonical *ḥadīth* books (*awā'il al-kutub as-sittah*). At the same time, he also studied with Muḥammad ad-Daqqāq al-Maghribī (d. 1158/1745 in Medina).³²⁰ Presumably, he had also travelled to al-Ḥijāz earlier, prior to the death of Aḥmad an-Nakhli (d. 1130/1717) and 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 1134/1722) as he included both as his teachers.³²¹

After having acquired a strong grounding in various sciences, as-Saffārīnī returned to his village, Saffārīn, and after a short stay, left for Nablus to reside therein. He is described by his students as having a dignified character with an awe-inspiring personality who would frequently busy himself with providing guidance and instruction to his students especially in the science of *ḥadīth*, and who regularly prayed the supererogatory night prayers (*qiyām al-layl*) in the mosque, encouraging others to do the same. Beginning from 1148/1735, he devoted his life to benefit others with his knowledge and courage, commanding the good and forbidding the evil until the end of his life. He died in Nablus on Monday, 8 Shawwāl 1188/12 December 1774 and was buried at az-Zārākiyyah cemetery.³²²

As-Saffārīnī had numerous students in Damascus who included among others, Muḥammad Shākir al-'Aqqād, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī al-Khalīlī and Muṣṭafā b. Sa'd ar-Ruḥaybānī as-Suyūṭī ad-

Dimashqī (1164-1243/1750-1827). Not only was he famous in Syria (*ash-Shām*) but several distant scholars corresponded with him requesting his *ijāzah*. They include, from Egypt, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī who received his *ijāzah* written and sent from Nablus in 1179/1765, from Medina, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Khalīl al-Madanī better known as Kadak Zādah, and from Yemen, Sulaymān b. Yahyā al-Ahdal and 'Abd al-Khāliq b. 'Alī al-Mizjāji.³²³

As-Saffārīnī was known for his ascetic (*zuhd*) qualities, such that he would hardly hoard anything of the world except books, for he was an enthusiastic book collector. That is reflected in his writings that are usually crammed full of quotes from various works. He authored many books, and wrote poems on various issues. His works include *ad-Durrat al-Muḍiyyah fī 'Iqd al-Firqat al-Marḍiyyah*, his commentary on this entitled *Lawāmi' al-Anwār al-Bahiyyah wa-Sawāfi' al-Āthār al-Athariyyah*, *Kashf al-Lithām* a commentary on 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī's *Umdat al-Aḥkām*, and *Sharḥ Thulāthiyāt Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad*, a commentary on Imām Aḥmad's *thulāthiyat* which refers to those narrations of Imām Aḥmad that only have three narrators between himself and the Prophet SAW. Such chains are the shortest chains of Imām Aḥmad, and of course, as we have already learned, the shorter the chain, the stronger the *ḥadīth*.³²⁴

'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī studied all as-Saffārīnī's works, in particular his *ad-Durrat al-Muḍiyyah*, its commentary, *Lawāmi' al-Anwār al-Bahiyyah*, and also studied with him at-Taftāzānī's (d. 791/1389) exposition of az-Zanjānī's (d. 655/1257) *Taṣrīf* on Arabic grammar and syntax.³²⁵

The third Damascene teacher of al-Falimbānī was Sirāj ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Armanāzī al-Ḥalabī ash-Shāfi'ī (1105-48/1693-1735).³²⁶ His ancestors originated from Armanāz, a small town located in the district of Idlib, northwest Syria, near the modern Syrian-Turkish border, while he himself was born and died in Ḥalab (Aleppo).³²⁷

According to al-Murādī, 'Umar al-Armanāzī was a distinguished *muqri'* (reciter of the Qur'ān), *faraḍī* (an expert on the Islamic laws of inheritance), *ālim* (savant), *āmil* (practicing scholar), *fāḍil* (noble), *kāmil* (perfect) and a leading expert in writing legal documents (*ra'san fī*

kitābat al-wathā'iq ash-shar'īyyah). He was raised by his father who was a pious, righteous man and the *imām* and *khatīb* of al-Qaṣṭal al-Ḥarāmī Mosque in Ḥalab, from whom he learned the Qur'ān. He then studied grammar, jurisprudence and Islamic rules of inheritance under Jābir b. Aḥmad al-Ḥawrānī and 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd al-Qādir az-Zawā'idī and became proficient in these subjects. With Muṣṭafā b. Maṣṣūr al-Ṭayyib he advanced in *'ilm al-miqāt* (science of timekeeping through astrology) and studied *ḥadīth* with the visiting Meccan *muhaddith*, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn 'Aqīlah (d. 1150/1737) upon the latter's arrival in Ḥalab. He also studied Arabic linguistic sciences including syntax, *al-ma'ānī* (the science of meanings), *al-bayān* (rhetoric) and the principles of grammar with several other scholars.³²⁸

Towards the end of his life, al-Armanāzī memorised the whole Qur'ān and the text of *ash-Shāṭibiyyah*, the metrical treatise on the various readings and orthography of the Qur'ān under the guidance of Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Baṣīrī. He would frequently busy himself with teaching the science of Qur'anic recitation (*Qirā'at*), one of the many subjects he had mastered. Later, al-Armanāzī wrote a compendious commentary on ash-Shāṭibī's (d. 590/1194) *Qirā'at Sab'ah wa-'Asharah* (seven and ten recital traditions) entitled *al-Ishārāt al-'Umarīyah fī Ḥallī Rumūz ash-Shāṭibiyyah*. However, he died before completing it, and it was later completed by 'Umar b. Shāhīn.³²⁹

From al-Falimbānī's *isnāds*, it appears that the only text that he received from al-Armanāzī was Yāsīn al-Ḥimṣī's (d. 1061/1650) *Ḥāshiyah* on al-Fākihī's (d. 972/1564) *Sharḥ Qaṭr an-Nadā*, a work on Arabic grammar.³³⁰ However, taking into account the year of death of al-Armanāzī (Sha'bān 1148/December 1735), it is very unlikely that al-Falimbānī had travelled to Syria at such early period, otherwise he would have met with its earlier generations of scholars. In addition, I have pointed out earlier that he was studying in Zabīd from 1147/1734 onwards. Perhaps, he might have met him in Yemen; however, unfortunately his biographer does not provide us with any account of his travels outside Ḥalab. Presumably, al-Falimbānī had included him among his Syrian teachers by way of *murāsalaḥ* (correspondence) or *ijāzah*. The latter seems to be more plausible, as al-Fādānī points out that one Yemeni scholar had transmitted the works of ash-Shāṭibī from 'Abd ar-Raḥmān

al-Ahdal, who in turn received it from 'Umar al-Armanāzī.³³¹ However, again, on examining the year of birth of al-Ahdal (1179/1765) it is impossible that these two scholars had met and apparently al-Fādānī must have forgotten to include the intermediaries between them. Nevertheless, at this point, it suffices to say that either by direct attendance or more likely by way of *ijāzah*, 'Umar al-Armanāzī was one of al-Falimbānī's Syrian teachers.

The last scholar in the list of al-Falimbānī's Syrian teachers was Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abū al-Faḍl 'Uthmān b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-'Aqīlī³³² al-Baṭā' ihī al-Ḥalabī al-'Umarī ash-Shāfi'ī (1163-1245/1749-1829).

Al-Bayṭār describes Muḥammad al-'Aqīlī as *al-'ālim*, *al-faqīh*, *al-fāḍil*, *ad-dayyīn* (religionist), *aṣ-ṣālīh* (righteous), *al-warī'* (pious), *az-zāhid* (ascetic), *al-'ābid* (worshipper). He was born and raised in Ḥalab. He memorised the Qur'ān and the text of *ash-Shāfi'biyyah* under the guidance of his father and mentor, who himself had memorised them at the age of twelve.³³³ He received *ijāzah* from a group of *muḥaddiths*. They include scholars such as 'Aṭā' Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Makkī, Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-'Aṭṭār, Manṣūr b. Muṣṭafā as-Saramīnī al-Ḥalabī, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad ash-Sharābātī al-Ḥalabī (1106-78/1694-1764), and others.³³⁴ Ash-Sharābātī himself in turn learned from scholars such as 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Taghlibī, Ilyās al-Kurdī, and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Mujallid, and during *hajj* in 1123/1711, ash-Sharābātī studied with al-Baṣrī, an-Nakhli and Abū Ṭahir al-Kūrānī, and in 1143/1730 studied with Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sīdī and Muḥammad ad-Daqqāq.³³⁵

It is worth noting that Muḥammad al-'Aqīlī's father, 'Uthmān (1135-93/1722-79), during his *hajj* in 1176/1762 took the opportunity to study with *al-Ḥaramayn* scholars. They include Muḥammad as-Sammān from whom he learned *ḥadīth* and received the initiation into the Qādiriyyah *Ṣūfī* order, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Madanī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Maghribī, Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sīdī aṣ-Ṣaghīr and 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Makkī.³³⁶ According to al-Kattānī, his brother, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aqīlī was also a renowned Syrian scholar. Both Muḥammad and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān studied with their father 'Uthmān al-'Aqīlī, who in turn studied with Ṭaha al-Jibrīnī al-Ḥalabī, who was a student of 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī.³³⁷

Apart from his father and the group of *muḥaddiths*, in 1205/1790 Muḥammad al-'Aqīlī met and studied with his contemporary, the historian and the *muftī* of Damascus, Khalīl al-Murādī. The latter is chiefly known for his *Salk ad-Durar*, a biographical dictionary on the twelfth/eighteenth century notables, and with whom he exchanged *isnāds*.³³⁸

According to al-Fādānī, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī learned *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* from Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-'Aqīlī al-Ḥalabī, who in turn had learned it from Muḥammad Khalīl b. 'Alī al-Murādī, who in turn received it from Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-Muḥibbī ad-Dimashqī, and so forth up to Imām Muslim.³³⁹ However, if we examine the year al-'Aqīlī met al-Murādī (1205/1790), it is obvious that al-Falimbānī must have met him after that year to be able to include al-Murādī in his *isnād*.

Finally, as I have already mentioned in passing, it is worth noting that according to Azra's research on 'Muḥammad Murād' who was listed among al-Falimbānī's teachers, had wrongly identified as Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī (1173-1206/1760-91).³⁴⁰ He argues that despite living mainly in Damascus, al-Murādī travelled extensively including to *al-Ḥaramayn*, collecting information on the scholars he would write about in his biographical dictionary, *Salk ad-Durar*,³⁴¹ thus making it highly probable that al-Falimbānī took the opportunity of al-Murādī's visits to *al-Ḥaramayn* to study with him.³⁴²

However, even though the two were contemporaries, his aforementioned *isnād* clearly eliminates the possibility of al-Falimbānī studying directly with al-Murādī. In other words, he would have excluded Muḥammad al-'Aqīlī from this *isnād* if he had studied directly with al-Murādī and hence have *al-isnād al-'ālī* with fewer intermediaries between him and Imām Muslim. Besides, I have demonstrated above that the Muḥammad Murād with whom al-Falimbānī studied was in fact Muḥammad Murād al-Anṣārī as-Sindī. If al-Falimbānī had scholarly links with al-Murādī, this would have to have been indirectly through at least two of his teachers, the Syrian Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-'Aqīlī, and the Egyptian Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, who were both al-Murādī's direct students.³⁴³

Northwest Africa (Maghrib)

The only Northwest African (*Maghribī*) scholar whom I was able to find to have had contacts with 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hilālī (d. 1175/1761).³⁴⁴ According to al-Kattānī, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Rashīd b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Alī b. Maḥmad (with *fath*) b. Muḥammad b. Imām Bāz an-Nawāzil Abī Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Hilālī as-Sijilmāsī al-Mālikī, better known as Aḥmad al-Hilālī, was born in 1113/1703 in Sijilmasa, an oasis town and medieval trade centre in western Maghrib, southeast of Fes. He was an 'ālim and a poet who also had facility in some of the Islamic sciences (*mushārik fī ba'ḍ al-'ulūm*).³⁴⁵

In his quest for 'ilm, apart from studying in his homeland with Aḥmad al-Ḥabīb aṣ-Ṣiddīqī as-Sijilmāsī, whom he regarded as his authority ('*umda*'), and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī (d. 1164/1750), Aḥmad al-Hilālī also travelled to Egypt and al-Ḥijāz. During his travels, he met and studied with prominent scholars such as 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, Aḥmad al-Mullawī, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, Muḥammad al-Ḥifnī and Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī (d. 1156/1743). The latter, in turn, studied with his father Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī.³⁴⁶ As the title of one of his works suggests, it is very likely that al-Hilālī recorded the account of his travels in his *ar-Riḥlah al-Makiyyah*.³⁴⁷ (Perhaps, this *ar-Riḥlah* might provide us with more details on his travels to Mecca). He then returned to Sijilmasa where he became one of the leading scholars in Maghrib, and later died in his hometown on 12 Rabī' al-Awwal 1175/11 October 1761.³⁴⁸

Evidently, al-Hilālī was also a leading *faqīh* of the Mālikī School of Islamic jurisprudence. On *fiqh*, he wrote a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar Khalīl* by Khalīl b. Ishāq b. Mūsā b. Shu'ayb al-Jundī (d. 767/1365) entitled *Ithāf al-Muqtanī* bi '*l-Qalīl fī Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Khalīl*,³⁴⁹ and *al-Marāhim fī Aḥkām Fasād ad-Darāhim*. His other works include a poem on invocation entitled *Sharḥ aṣ-Ṣadr fī 't-Tawassul bi-Ahl Badr*, and *Dīwān Shi'ir*, a collection of his poems,³⁵⁰ *az-Zawāhir al-Ufuqiyyah* 'alā *al-Jawāhir al-Manṭiqiyyah*, a commentary in verse on logic, and three *thabat* works listing his teachers and the works he received from them together with his *isnāds*. In this regard, al-Kattānī described his smallest

thabat entitled *al-'Ujālah* as consisting of four pages with his *isnād* on *ḥadīth al-awwaliyyah*, *al-muṣāfahah* (handclasp), *al-mushābakah*, *al-musalsal bi 'l-maḥabbah*, *Thulāthiāt al-Bukhārī*, and *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*.³⁵¹ Apart from the *al-'Ujālah*, according to al-Mar'ashlī, he also compiled a larger *thabat* entitled *Asānīd Abī al-'Abbās al-Hilālī* in two volumes, and a medium *thabat* entitled *Fahrasat al-Hilālī*, a summarised version of the *Asānīd*.³⁵²

As for al-Falimbānī, the only known text that he learned from Aḥmad al-Hilālī was Ibn Mājah's *as-Sunan*, one of the 'six books' of *ḥadīth* collections.³⁵³ It is not known where he met and studied with him. However, it is very unlikely that al-Falimbānī had travelled as far as Maghrib to study with him especially that we know he was his only teacher who came from that region. On the other hand, it is highly plausible that al-Falimbānī met him during one of his above-mentioned travels to Egypt and al-Ḥijāz (in Mecca or Medina).

According to al-Kattānī, the last surviving student of Aḥmad al-Hilālī was Muḥammad b. Šālīḥ az-Zakazūtī ar-Radānī who died on 24 Ramaḍān 1241/2 May 1826 thus surviving for sixty-six years after his teacher's death.³⁵⁴ However, from al-Falimbānī's date of death demonstrated earlier as 17 Dhū al-Qa'dah 1254/1 February 1839, perhaps he was his last surviving student who lived for seventy-nine years after his death.

The Malay Archipelago

Though I have been able to trace a considerable number of al-Falimbānī's teachers with whom he studied in various centres of Islamic learning in the Arab world, unfortunately records on his teachers from the Malay Archipelago are extremely rare or perhaps non-existent. In fact, from his known works that I have consulted, I have not found al-Falimbānī mention a single name of any earlier *Jāwī* or Arab teachers in the Archipelago. Thus, at this point, it is practically impossible for us to list his teachers in the Archipelago, unless we find such records in the future.

Nevertheless, according to our contemporary, Shaghīr Abdullah, one of al-Falimbānī's *Jāwī* teachers with whom he studied during his early education was 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī. Abdullah

maintains that 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī, who comes from Pauh Bok, a village in Pattani, was among al-Falimbānī's teachers in Pattani based on oral tradition from the locals of Pauh Bok. In addition, an unpublished manuscript copy of *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā* from his personal collection, scribed by 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. Qunbul al-Faṭānī (whom he believes was a contemporary of al-Falimbānī) points out that al-Falimbānī studied with 'Abd ar-Raḥmān.³⁵⁵ However, it is impossible for us to verify this information, as this manuscript copy is unpublished and remains inaccessible.

Furthermore, again based on traditional narrative of the locals of Pauh Bok, Abdullah believes that 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī was a close friend of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān in Medina, who thus facilitated al-Falimbānī's later education in Mecca and Medina.³⁵⁶ However, upon consulting the works of al-Falimbānī, as-Sammān and his students, I have not found any evidence to substantiate this narrative. Perhaps, such narratives can be found in the works of contemporary scholars to al-Falimbānī, such as the classical Malay literary story entitled *Hikayat Walī Allāh Syeikh 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Pauh Bok* attributed to Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī. As the title would suggest, this work probably relates biographical notices and virtues of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī who was revered as a saint.³⁵⁷ However, unfortunately, I have not been able to find any existing copy of this work.

To conclude, it should be clear that al-Falimbānī studied all branches of Islamic learning under a considerable number of the most renowned scholars of his time. In his lifetime, he in turn became prominent and this is evident, as we shall see, through looking at the stature of his students, to whom we turn to next.

Endnotes

- ¹ See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138.
- ² See al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 363; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 851.
- ³ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 17; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 48; at-Tarṃasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 6, footnote.

- 4 For Yahyā al-Ahdal's complete biography and works see al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 22-9; Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, pp. 880-3; vol. 3, pp. 354-7; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 13, p. 216; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 31-4, 110-1, 217-20, 252-3; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 8, p. 161; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, pp. 140-2; idem, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, pp. 344-5; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 1135-6; al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, pp. 37, 72-3, 261, 524-5; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 534; al-Ahdalī, *al-Qawl al-'A'dal*, p. 123; Sardār, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī ash-Shāfi'i, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār* (Ḥalab, Dār al-Qalam al-'Arabī, 1417/1996) p. 27; Mu'assasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū'at Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'* (1st edition, 14 vols., Beirut, Dār al-Aḍwā', 1422/2001), vol. 12, pp. 433-4; as-Sanūsī, Riḍā b. Muḥammad Ṣafī ad-Dīn, *Musnid al-Hijāz: ath-Thabat, Khātimat al-Muḥaddithīn ash-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī al-Makkī* (Jeddah, Markaz an-Nashr al-'Ilmī Jāmi'at al-Malik 'Abd al-'Azīz, 1426/2005), p. 43; Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte Arabischen Litterature* (2 vols. and 3 supplements, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1943-1949), (S) vol. II, p. 535.
- 5 See Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, p. 880; vol. 3, p. 354.
- 6 See al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, p. 104.
- 7 See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 22-3; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 140.
- 8 See ash-Shawkānī, *al-Badr at-Ṭālī'*, vol. 1, p. 187; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 8, p. 161. According to al-Hilāh, a manuscript copy of this *thabat* is held in the manuscript collections in the Library of Mecca. See al-Hilāh, Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb, *Fahras Makhtūṭāt Maktabat Makkah al-Mukarramah: Qism at-Tārikh* (London, Mu'assasat al-Furqān li 't-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1994), p. 107. A description of Yahyā al-Ahdal's *thabat* is given by al-Ahdal in his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 259-60; al-Ḥabshī in his *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 252-3; al-Kattānī in his *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1136. His '*al-isnād al-'ālī*' is evident from his *ijāzah* given to Aḥmad Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal. See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 64-5; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 218-9.
- 9 See Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, p. 881; vol. 3, p. 355.
- 10 See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 23-4, 64-5; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 218; Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, pp. 880-1; vol. 3, p. 354; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790), Muḥammad Murtaḍā b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Ḥusaynī al-'Alawī, *Mu'jam al-'Allāmah Ṣafī ad-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bukhārī al-Atharī d. 1200/1785* (1st

- edition, Damascus, Dār al-Bashā'ir li 'l-Ṭibā'at wa 'n-Nashr wa 't-Tauzī', 1420/1999), p. 19; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 100.
- ¹¹ For further discussion on the connections and roles of these scholars in the scholarly networks see Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, especially pp. 16-51.
- ¹² For Yaḥyā al-Ahdal's connections in the networks see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Mu'jam*, pp. 19, 20; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shāhid*, vol. 1, pp. 118, 122, 127, 129, 132, 136, 141, 144, 157, 163, 177, 179, 305, 320, passim; vol. 2, pp. 617, 621, 667, 669, 673; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 90, 127, 146, 195, 253, 284, 374, 446; vol. 2, pp. 696, 700, 938, 1132, 1136; al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 17, 55, 64, 118; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 48, 81; idem, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, pp. 4, 19, 50, 55, 83, 85, 191, 194, 196, 197, 322, 329; idem, *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, p. 107; idem, *al-Fayḍ ar-Rahmānī*, p. 33; idem, *al-Arba'ūn Ḥadīthan min Arba'īn Kitāban 'an Arba'īn Shaykhan* (2nd edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1407/1987), pp. 13, 24, 50, 72; idem, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān bi-Ikhtiṣār Maṭmah al-Wijdān fī Asānīd ash-Shaykh 'Umar Ḥamdān* (1st edition, Damascus, Dār al-Bashā'ir, 1406/1985), pp. 81, 82, 83, 149, 162, 169, 174; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, pp. 6, 14.
- ¹³ See al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, pp. 4, 117; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 74; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 107.
- ¹⁴ See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 25, 60; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1135.
- ¹⁵ See al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 345.
- ¹⁶ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 17; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 48; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 6 footnote.
- ¹⁷ For Aḥmad Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal's complete biography see al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 58-77; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, pp. 143-4; idem, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 352; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 212-7; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 127, 195, 253, 374; vol. 2, pp. 583, 589, 620, 697, 866, 903, 1129, 1136; Khawqīr (d. 1349/1930), Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad 'Ārif b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Makkī al-Kutbī al-Ḥanbalī, *Thabat al-Athbāt ash-Shahīrah*, edited by Rāshid b. 'Āmir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghufaylī (Riyadh, s.n., 1425/2004), p. 23; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, pp. 28-9.
- ¹⁸ See as-Sinkīlī, *'Umdat al-Muhtājīn*, MSS 2466, fol. 59.
- ¹⁹ See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 69-71.

- ²⁰ See al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 12; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 156, 202, 203, 221, 228, 233, 242; vol. 2, pp. 424, 429, 431, 443, passim.
- ²¹ See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 59, 72-3; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 249, 267, 289, 325, 339, 377.
- ²² A manuscript copy of an *ijāzah* written by Aḥmad al-Ahdal given to Ibrāhīm al-Amīr is kept at the al-Ḥaram Library, Mecca. See Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, and 'Ādil b. Jamīl b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān 'Ayd, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar li-Makhtūṭāt Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī ash-Sharīf* (4 vols., Riyadh, Maktabat al-Malik Fahd al-Waṭaniyyah, 1427/2006), vol. 1, p. 303.
- ²³ See as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 54, 118, 127, 129, 142, 144, 156, 163, 191, 202, 203, 204, passim; vol. 2, pp. 424, 429, 431, passim; ash-Shawkānī, *al-Badr at-Tāli*, vol. 2, p. 199.
- ²⁴ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 15, 30, 38, 44, 54, 57, 64, 71, 72, 78, 82, 83, 107, 111; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 46, 61-2, 67, 77, 80, 84, 88, 95, 97, 100, 116, passim.
- ²⁵ See al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 144.
- ²⁶ See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- ²⁷ See Zabārah (d. 1381/1961), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī aṣ-Ṣan'ānī, *al-Mulḥaq at-Tābi' li 'l-Badr at-Tāli* (1st edition, Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1418/1998), vol. 2, p. 295; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 143; idem, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 351; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 55-7; al-'Aẓīm Ābādī (d. 1329/1911), Abū aṭ-Ṭayyib Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaq, *al-Wijāzah fī 'l-Ijāzah* (1st edition, Karachi, Mu'assasat al-Mujamma' al-'Ilmī, 1408/1988), p. 30.
- ²⁸ For Amr Allāh al-Mizjājī's biography see al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 51-7; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, p. 48; al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 351; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 200-2; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 86, vol. 2, pp. 608, 696.
- ²⁹ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Ujālah*, p. 97.
- ³⁰ Literally mean 'the tradition with continuous chain of primacy' or 'primacy *ḥadīth*' and it is commonly known among *ḥadīth* scholars as *ḥadīth al-anwālīyah*.
- ³¹ See as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 2, p. 530; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, p. 24; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 86.
- ³² See al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 12; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, pp. 26, 74.

- 33 See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 54. For further discussion on the spiritual benefit of wearing the *al-khirqat aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, see al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 240-1.
- 34 For further information on Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb see Laoust, H. "Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb" in *EF*, vol. III, p. 677.
- 35 See al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, pp. 12, 41, 100; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 76; idem, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, p. 82; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣī*, pp. 24, 26, 74, 81, 84; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 54-5.
- 36 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 9-10; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 53; al-'Azīm Ābādī, *al-Wijāzah*, pp. 50, 57, 83, 89, 93, 99, 103; al-Mālikī (d. 1425/2004), Muḥammad b. 'Alawī b. 'Abbās al-Ḥasanī al-Makkī, *al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iyah bi 'l-Asānīd al-'Alawiyyah* (2nd edition, s.l., s.n., 1980), p. 131.
- 37 See al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 70.
- 38 See al-Ḥabshī, *'Iqd al-Yawāqūt al-Jawhariyyah*, vol. 1, p. 76; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 2, p. 530.
- 39 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 138; idem, *an-Nafaḥat al-Miskiyyah*, p. 5; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 6, 134. For Aḥmad al-Hajjām's complete biography see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790), Muḥammad Murtaḍā b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Ḥusaynī al-'Alawī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ: Yahtawī 'alā Tarājim Akthar min Sittimi'ah min A'yān al-Qarn ath-Thānī 'Ashar al-Hijrī, wa-Yalīhi, Mu'jam Shuyūkhīhi aṣ-Ṣaghīr wa-Ijāzātuhu li 'l-'Allamah Muḥammad Sa'īd as-Suwaydī*, edited by Nizām Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ya'qūbī and Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-'Ajmi (Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1427/2006), p. 62.
- 40 See as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 2, pp. 696-8; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 79. Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī's list of teachers and *isnāds* are compiled by his student Tāj ad-Dīn b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm ad-Dahān in an unpublished *thabat* entitled *Kifāyat al-Mutaṭalli' limā Ḥahara wa-Khafiya min Ghālib Marwiyyāt Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Ujaymī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī*. Unfortunately, even after an extensive search I was unable to locate this work.
- 41 For Aḥmad al-Hajjām connections in the networks see al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 149; idem, *Ithāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 11; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 45; idem, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, pp. 30, 35, 54, 79, 85; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 54, 119, 122, 128, 131, 158, 163, *passim*; vol. 2, pp. 429, 462, 487, 498, 696; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 1, p. 105; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 239; Ghāzī (d. 1365/1945), 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Hindī al-Makkī,

- Fath al-Qawī fī Dhikri Asānīd as-Sayyid Husayn al-Hibshī al-'Alawī* (s.l., Published by his grandson Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Husayn al-Hibshī, 1418/1997), p. 141.
- ⁴² See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, p. 72; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 62, 246-7.
- ⁴³ See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 62; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 79-81.
- ⁴⁴ See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 6, 134-5; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 138; idem, *an-Nafaḥat al-Miskiyyah*, p. 5.
- ⁴⁵ For Sālim al-Baṣrī's biography and works see al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Arifīn*, vol. 1, p. 382; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 126; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 4, p. 203; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 119, 149, 194, 197, 213, 235, 284, 354, 447, 514; vol. 2, pp. 760, 938, 979, 983, 1010; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, p. 9; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, pp. 161-2; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, pp. 293-4; al-Hilāh, *at-Tārīkh wa 'l-Mu'arrikhūn bi-Makkah*, pp. 399-400; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 32.
- ⁴⁶ See al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, p. 61.
- ⁴⁷ The other two scholars who possess the '*uluw al-isnād*' are Aḥmad an-Nakhli and Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī. See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 129; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, p. 666.
- ⁴⁸ The '*musānīd al-Hijāz as-sab'ah*' in chronological order are 'Isā b. Muḥammad al-Ja'farī ath-Tha'ālabī (d. 1080/1669); Muḥammad b. Sulaymān ar-Raddānī (d. 1094/1683); Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690); Quraysh bint 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭabariyyah (d. 1107/1695); Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Ujaymī (d. 1113/1701); Aḥmad b. Muḥammad an-Nakhli (d. 1130/1717); and 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī. See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 252; vol. 2, pp. 941-2; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, pp. 641, 965; al-Fādānī, *Waraqāt*, pp. 27-8, idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, pp. 77-8.
- ⁴⁹ For the rest of 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī's list of teachers see his *al-Imdād bi-Ma'rifat 'Uluw al-Isnād* (1st edition, Hyderabad, Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif an-Niẓāmiyyah, 1328/1910).
- ⁵⁰ See ash-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834), Muḥammad b. 'Alī, *Ithāf al-Akābir bi-Asānīd ad-Dafātīr* (1st edition, Hyderabad, Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif an-Niẓāmiyyah, 1328/1910) p. 5; al-'Azīm Ābādī, *al-Wijāzah*, p. 94; al-Fādānī, *al-Qawl al-Jamīl*, p. 56. For his connections in the networks see al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 119, 149, 194, 197, 213, 235, 284, 354, 447, 514; vol. 2, pp. 760, 938, 979, 983, 1010; al-Mālikī (d.

- 1391/1971), 'Alawī b. 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥasanī al-Makkī, *Fihrist ash-Shuyūkh wa 'l-Asānīd* (1st edition, Saudi Arabia, s.n., 1423/2003), p. 13; al-Mālikī, *al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iyah*, pp. 92, 100, 115, 173; al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 17.
- ⁵¹ See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 149, 178; vol. 2, p. 979; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār*, p. 39; al-Mālikī, *al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iyah*, p. 100; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 502. For further information on Shāh Walī Allāh see Bazmee Ansari, A.S. "Al-Dihlawī, Shāh Walī Allāh" *EF* (Leiden, Brill, 1965), vol. II, p. 254.
- ⁵² See Mortimer, Edward, *Faith and Power: The Politics of Islam* (London, Faber and Faber, 1982), pp. 67-8.
- ⁵³ See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, p. 162; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, pp. 9, 61.
- ⁵⁴ For further discussions on *al-Imdād* see al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 979; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Ḥijāz*, pp. 32, 46-7; al-Mālikī, *al-'Uqūd al-Lu'lu'iyah*, p. 115; al-Hilāh, *at-Tārīkh wa 'l-Mu'arrikhūn bi-Makkah*, pp. 399-400.
- ⁵⁵ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 8, 123; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 12; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170, vol. 3, p. 50.
- ⁵⁶ For 'Umar as-Saqqāf's complete biography see al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 228; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 89, 101, 121, 195, 200, 234, 296, 424, 449, 459, 532; vol. 2, pp. 739, 756, 792-6, 812, 853, 890, 1000, 1010, 1022, 1091; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 587-8; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 107-16; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Ḥijāz*, p. 37; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 2, p. 376; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 513.
- ⁵⁷ See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Murabbī al-Kābulī fī man Rawā 'an ash-Shams al-Bābīlī*, edited by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-'Ajnī (1st edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah; Damascus, Dār as-Ṣiddīq, 1425/2004), pp. 196, 215.
- ⁵⁸ See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, p. 85; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, 492; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 513.
- ⁵⁹ For 'Umar as-Saqqāf's connection in the networks see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, p. 42; idem, *al-Murabbī al-Kābulī*, pp. 196-200, 204, 228-9, passim; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 89, 101, 121, 195, 200, 234, 296, 424, 449, 459, 532; vol. 2, pp. 739, 812, 853, 890, 1000, 1010, 1022, 1091; al-Ḥāfiẓ, *'Ulamā' Dimashq fī 'l-Qarn*

- ath-Thālith 'Ashar*, vol. 1, p. 127; al-'Azīm Ābādī, *al-Wijāzah*, pp. 50, 51; al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 67.
- ⁶⁰ See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 89; vol. 2, pp. 792-6.
- ⁶¹ See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, p. 108; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 387; idem, *al-Murabbī al-Kābulī*, pp. 228-9; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 228.
- ⁶² See al-'Azīm Ābādī, *al-Wijāzah*, pp. 47, 94; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 228. Shāh Walī Allāh also wrote two other *thabat* work entitled *al-Irshād ilā Muhimmāt 'Ilm al-Isnād* and *al-Intibāh fī Salāsīl Awliyā' Allāh wa-Asānīd Wārithī Rasūl Allāh* where he listed his teachers, the titles of various Islamic books he studied along with the *isnāds* to each of them. See al-'Azīm Ābādī, *al-Wijāzah*, pp. 96-7; al-Fādānī, *al-Fayḍ ar-Rahmānī*, p. 12; Khawqir (d. 1349/1930), Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad 'Ārif b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Makkī al-Kutbī al-Ḥanbalī, *Thabat al-Athbāt ash-Shahīrah* (1st edition, Riyadh, s.n., 1425/2004), p. 27.
- ⁶³ See ad-Dihlawī (d. 1239/1823), 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Shāh Walī Allāh Aḥmad al-'Umarī al-Fārūqī, *al-'Ujālah an-Nāfi'ah* (1st edition, Riyadh, Dār ad-Dā'ir li 'n-Nashr wa 't-Tawzī', 1422/2001), especially pp. 68-102; al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn Ḥadīthan*, p. 80.
- ⁶⁴ See al-Fādānī, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 16.
- ⁶⁵ See al-Fādānī, *Tanwīr al-Baṣīrah bi-Ṭuruq 'l-Isnād ash-Shahīrah* (2nd edition, Damascus, Dār al-Baṣā'ir, 1403/1983), pp. 11-2; idem, *al-Fayḍ ar-Rahmānī bi-Ijāzat Faḍīlat ash-Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī al-'Uthmānī* (1st edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1406/1986), p. 14; idem, *Waraqāt fī Majmū'ah al-Musalsalāt wa 'l-Awā'il wa 'l-Asānīd al-'Āliyah* (2nd edition, Damascus, Dār al-Baṣā'ir, 1406/1986), pp. 25-6; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāsi*, p. 75; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 502.
- ⁶⁶ See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 8, 147; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 12, 139; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 6 footnote.
- ⁶⁷ For 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Miṣrī's biography see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 119-20; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 479-80; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 6, p. 283; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 664; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, pp. 139, 181, 690; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 94, 121, 149, 200, 532, 535; vol. 2, pp. 903, 985, 1128; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 138; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 1, p. 251; vol. 2, p. 66; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 4, p. 236; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 163; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 482.

- 68 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 119-20; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 479-80.
- 69 See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, p. 5.
- 70 See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, pp. 4, 5, 10; al-Falimbānī, *Mukhtār, Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, pp. 163-4; al-Banjārī, *Risālah Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, p. 6.
- 71 See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, p. 4.
- 72 A manuscript copy exists at Yale University Library (Beinecke, Landberg MSS 62).
- 73 For a list of his works see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 479-80; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 4, p. 236; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 1, p. 251; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 6, p. 283; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Arifīn*, vol. 1, p. 664; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, pp. 139, 181, 690; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 138.
- 74 See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, p. 11; idem, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, pp. 112, 113.
- 75 For 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Hilālī's biography see al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, p. 25; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, vol. 1, pp. 218-9; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, pp. 862; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 977-8; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, p. 529; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 486; vol. 2, p. 1137; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār*, p. 42; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf at-Ṭālib as-Sirrī bi-Asānīd al-Wajīh al-Kuzbarī* (1st edition, Damascus, Dār al-Baṣā'ir, 1403/1983), p. 75.
- 76 See al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 862.
- 77 See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrat al-Murīd*, p. 11.
- 78 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, pp. 112, 113.
- 79 See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, vol. 1, p. 219. However, al-Jabartī reported that he died on 23 Sha'bān 1212/10 February 1798.
- 80 For Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī's biography and works see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 187-93; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 83-90; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 200, 244, 259, 260, 355, 404-5, 512, 531; vol. 2, pp. 582, 768, 779, 851, 1023, 1061, 1078, 1101, 1150; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, p. 164; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, pp. 136-8; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 362; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, pp. 303-4; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 117; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 314-5; al-Baghdādī, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 16, 37, 62, 88, 110, 144, 156, 157, 195, 259, 335, 400, 403, 419, 437, 457, 462, 475, 616; vol. 2, pp. 50, 84, 109, 131, 150, 162, 216, 247, 255, 366, 374, 406, 570, 577, 583, 591; Mu'assasat

- al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū'at Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, vol. 12, pp. 46-7; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 498-9.
- 81 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 84; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 362; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, pp. 136-7.
- 82 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 84-5.
- 83 See Khawqir, *Thabat al-Athbāt ash-Shahīrah*, p. 34.
- 84 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 90.
- 85 They all authorised him to teach and to give *fatwās* according to their respective schools. See ad-Damanhūrī (d. 1192/1778) Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Madhāhibī al-Azhari, *al-Laṭā'if an-Nūriyyah fī 'l-Manḥ ad-Damanhūriyyah*, printed as addendum to *Shaykh Damanhūrī on the Churches of Cairo, 1739* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London, University of California Press, 1975), pp. 73-87; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 85-8.
- 86 See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, vol. 1, p. 54.
- 87 See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, p. 11; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 233; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 137-8.
- 88 See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, p. 11; ash-Shanawānī (d. 1233/1817), Muḥammad b. 'Alī, *ad-Durar as-Saniyyah fī-mā 'Alā min 'l-Asānīd ash-Shanawāniyyah*, p. 2.
- 89 See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, p. 164.
- 90 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 88-90.
- 91 See Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 498-9.
- 92 For a list of his works see az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, p. 164; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 88-90; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 1, p. 303; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Mustafīd*, pp. 79-80.
- 93 Both texts survive in manuscripts held in Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī and Princeton University, respectively. See Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, vol. 3, p. 1250; Mach, *Catalog of Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 201 (no. 2350).
- 94 This work was translated by Moshe Perlmann. See ad-Damanhūrī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im, *Iqāmat al-Ḥujjat al-Bāhirah 'alā Hadmi Kanā'is Miṣr wa 'l-Qāhirah*, translated by Moshe Perlmann as *Shaykh Damanhūrī on the Churches of Cairo, 1739* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London, University of California Press, 1975).
- 95 See al-Falimbānī, *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, p. 11.

- 96 See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 163; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138; al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 363; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 851.
- 97 See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, pp. 173-5.
- 98 For Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī's biography and works see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 152-3; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, p. 385; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 98; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 1, pp. 33-4; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 40; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, p. 582; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 205-7; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 152; idem, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 366; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 241-3; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 1, pp. 473-4; Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, pp. 12-3, 173-5; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, pp. 59-60; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 2, p. 178; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 538.
- 99 For further discussion on the Khalwatiyyah Order see Martin, B. G., "A Short History of the Khalwati Order of Dervishes" in Keddie, Nikki R. (ed.), *Scholars, Saints and Sufi: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500* (Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1972), pp. 275-305.
- 100 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 152.
- 101 See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, p. 385; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 2, p. 178.
- 102 See al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, p. 60.
- 103 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 152; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, p. 25; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 250-1; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 21.
- 104 See Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 1, pp. 12-3; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, p. 60; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 153.
- 105 See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 223.
- 106 For Muḥammad Mirdād's biography, see Mirdād, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 2, p. 436; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 2, p. 1379; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, p. 859.
- 107 See al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 448; vol. 2, 1094.
- 108 See al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyīn*, vol. 2, pp. 852-60.
- 109 *Ibid*, vol. 2, p. 855.
- 110 See Abdullah, Syeikh Abdus Shamad, pp. 35-6; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 7, p. 4.

- 111 For Muḥammad Zayn al-Ashī's biography and works, see Abdullah, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 7, pp. 1-17; idem, *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqh*, pp. 62-74; idem, *Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad Al Banjari*, p. 15; Ronkel (1870-1954), Philippus S. van, *Catalogus Der Maleische Handschriften in Het Museum Van Het Bataviaasch Genootschap Van Kunsten En Wetenschappen* (Batavia, Albrecht & Co.; Hague, Nijhoff, 1909), pp. 404-6; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, pp. 50-1.
- 112 See al-Ashī, Muḥammad Zayn b. al-Faqīh Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Jāwī, *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* ([Pulau Pinang], Percetakan Almuarif Sdn. Bhd., s.a.), p. 46.
- 113 See al-Ashī, *Kashf al-Kirām fī Bayān an-Niyyat 'inda Takbīrat al-Ihrām* (MS National Library of Malaysia) MS 1048, fol. 8.
- 114 See al-Ashī, *Talkhīṣ al-Falāḥ fī Bayān Ahkām at-Talāq wa 'n-Nikāḥ* (MS National Library of Malaysia), MSS 2824, fol. 9. However, MS 1518 shows that it was written on 1 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1171/6 August 1758, fol. 16. This indicates that either one of these two dates were mistakenly copied.
- 115 See al-Ashī, *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, pp. 31-2, 41-2.
- 116 See al-Ashī, *Kashf al-Kirām*, MS 1048, fol. 7.
- 117 For Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Maḥallātī's biography see Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 10, p. 36; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 140; al-Mu'allimī, *A'lām al-Makkiyyin*, vol. 1, p. 529; Mirdād (d. 1343/1924), 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad Abū al-Khayr, *al-Mukhtaṣar min Kitāb Nashr an-Nawr wa 'z-Zahr fī Tarājim Afādil Makkah min 'l-Qarn al-'Ashir ilā 'l-Qarn ar-Rābi'* 'Ashar (2nd edition, Jeddah, 'Ālam al-Ma'rifah, 1406/1986), p. 442; 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Siyar wa-Tarājim*, p. 237; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 100-2.
- 118 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikin*, vol. 3, p. 179; vol. 4, pp. 258, 263; Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 40.
- 119 For 'Abd Allāh Mīrghani's complete biography and works see al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 103-4; al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, pp. 1011-2; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifin*, vol. 1, pp. 486-7; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 101; al-Ḥabshī, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 172, 191-2; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 93-4; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 269-70; Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, pp. 121, 158; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 157-9, where he is supposedly to have died in 1193/1779; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 101, 105, 195, 197, 200, 532; vol. 2, pp. 556, 557, 760, 903, 1129, 1137; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, pp. 149-50; az-Ziriklī,

- al-A'lām*, vol. 4, p. 64; al-Hilāh, *at-Tārīkh wa 'l-Mu'arrikhūn Bi-Makkah*, pp. 406-8; Brockelmann, *GAL* vol. 2, p. 506; *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 523.
- 120 For further information on the Mīrghanī family see Bearman. P., *et al.*, (eds.) "Mīrghaniyya" in *EF*, vol. VII, p. 124.
- 121 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 93-4; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 269-70.
- 122 See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 172.
- 123 See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 157-9.
- 124 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 179. A manuscript copy is held at Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī, no. 2442 *mawā'iz*. See Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar li-Makhtūṭāt Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī ash-Sharīf* (4 vols., Riyadh, Maktabat al-Malik Fahd al-Waṭaniyyah, 1426/2006), vol. 3, p. 1252.
- 125 See Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, pp. 1092, 1094, 1186.
- 126 See Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 1, p. 454; vol. 2, p. 204; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, 253; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 191; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 351.
- 127 See al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 363; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 851.
- 128 See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 115.
- 129 See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 163; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, pp. 40, 85, 107; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 36; Ghāzī, *Faṭḥ al-Qawī*, pp. 139, 186.
- 130 See Bruinessen, Martin van, *Kiṭab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat, Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (2nd edition, Bandung, Penerbit Mizan, 1995), p. 62.
- 131 For Muḥammad Murād's biography see al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 2, p. 837.
- 132 See as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 50-1, 100, 186, 263, 269, 272, 278, 384, 389, 400, *passim*; vol. 2, p. 421.
- 133 See al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 2, pp. 842-3.
- 134 See as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 2, p. 701.
- 135 See al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 140; al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 6, p. 837, vol. 7, p. 1093.
- 136 See as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 50-1, 100; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 36; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, pp. 40, 85, 107; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 163; al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 2, p. 837; Ghāzī, *Faṭḥ al-Qawī*, pp. 139, 186.

- 137 See al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 6, p. 837.
- 138 See al-Būghūrī (d. 1349/1930), Muḥammad Mukhtār b. 'Aṭārīd al-Jāwī al-Makkī, *Ithāf as-Sādat al-Muḥaddithīn bi-Musalsalāt al-Aḥādīth al-Arba'īn* (Egypt, Maṭba'at Dār Iḥyā al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, 1345/1926), p. 29; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 2, p. 649.
- 139 Cf. al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, pp. 2, 219; vol. 2, p. 246; vol. 3, pp. 12, 13, 17, 18, 47, 178, 181, 183, 187, 189, passim; vol. 4, pp. 2, 7, 266, 267; idem, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, pp. 109, 111, 112.
- 140 For Muḥammad as-Sammān's biography and works see at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājīm A'yān al-Madīnah*, pp. 95, 128 (with a diagram illustrating his genealogy); Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 145-7; az-Ziriklī, *A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 216; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, pp. 75-6; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, p. 24; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 332; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 10, p. 188; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 142; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 201, 215, 259, 496; vol. 2, pp. 903, 1161; al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 341; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, p. 664; Qarīb Allāh, *as-Salāsīl adh-Dhahabiyyah fī Asānid A'yān at-Tarīqat as-Sammāniyyah*, pp. 96-8; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 535.
- 141 See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 200; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 239-40.
- 142 On these Ṣūfī Orders see Trimmingham, J. Spencer, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (London, Oxford University Press, 1971).
- 143 See as-Sammān, *an-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, pp. 16, 18, 60; at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājīm A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 95; Quds, *al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyyah*, pp. 5-8.
- 144 See az-Ziriklī, *A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 134; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 237; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 65; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 353-5; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 91, 306-8; Martin, "A Short History of the Khalwati Order," p. 302.
- 145 See as-Sammān, *an-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, p. 60; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, p. 51; vol. 2, pp. 440, 453, 464, 472, 516, 523, 563, 680; Ghāzī, *Fath al-Qawī*, p. 139; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, p. 153.
- 146 See as-Sammān, *an-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, p. 65; Quds, *al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyyah*, p. 6; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 143; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, pp. 135-6; at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājīm A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 77; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 166, 240; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 938; al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, p. 100.

- ¹⁴⁷ For Muḥammad as-Sammān's scholarly connections in the network, cf. al-Aḥdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 143; al-Ḥabshī, *Iqd al-Yawāqūt*, vol. 1, p. 89; idem, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 224; Quds, *al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyyah*, p. 6; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, pp. 195, 210; at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 95; an-Nadwī, Muḥammad Akram, *Nafaḥāt al-Hind wa 'l-Yaman bi-Asānīd ash-Shaykh Abī al-Ḥasan* (1st edition, Riyadh, Maktabat al-Imām ash-Shāfi'ī, 1419/1998), p. 73; Khān, Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar al-Madanī, *Qatf Azhār al-Mawāhib ar-Rabbāniyyah min Afnān Riyāḍ an-Nafaḥāt al-Qudsiyyah li-Sayyidinā ash-Shaykh as-Sammān*, edited by Aḥmad 'Abd al-Majīd Harīdī (Cairo, Aḥmad al-Badawī as-Sammān aṭ-Ṭibī, 1393/1973), pp. ii-iii; al-Fādānī, *al-Qawl al-Jamīl*, p. 22; Zabārah, *Nayl al-Waṭar*, vol. 2, p. 24.
- ¹⁴⁸ See Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 5, p. 75.
- ¹⁴⁹ See al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 95; idem, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 122; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 102; Ghāzī, *Faṭḥ al-Qawī*, pp. 129, 231; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 51, 288, 391, 407; vol. 2, pp. 427, 440, 453, 464, 472, 516, 523, 563, 680, passim; Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, pp. iii-v; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, p. 145; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 903.
- ¹⁵⁰ See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, p. iv.
- ¹⁵¹ See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 178-9.
- ¹⁵² Manuscript copies of *Igāthāt al-Lahfān* and *al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah* are said to exist at the al-Azhar Library, no. 798, ḥalīm 33432 and no. 602, *majāmi' as-saqqā* 28934, 28 fols., respectively. See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, p. vi.
- ¹⁵³ *Ibid*, p. vi; Qarīb Allāh, *as-Salāsīl adh-Dhahabiyyah*, p. 96.
- ¹⁵⁴ See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 2, p. 246; vol. 3, pp. 178-9, 181; Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, pp. 1034, 1208.
- ¹⁵⁵ However, it is generally known among scholars of Arabic literature that Zakariyyā al-Anṣarī's *Faṭḥ ar-Raḥmān* is a commentary of Walī Raslān's *Risālah fī 't-Tawḥīd*, and as I will prove later on discussion of al-Falimbānī's works, this was actually a commentary on Raslān's *Risālah*. See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 181; Chapter 5.
- ¹⁵⁶ See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, p. 266.
- ¹⁵⁷ For a more detailed account of his death see Khān, *Manāqib Shaykh Muḥammad as-Sammān* (MS Leiden University), Or. 7345, fols. 17-8; Kemas, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Nafaḥāt ar-Raḥmān fī Manāqib Ustādhinā al-A'zam as-Sammān* (MS Jakarta National Library), W. 126, p. 67; al-Falimbānī, Muḥammad Muḥyī ad-Dīn b. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Jāwī, *Hikayat*

- Syekh Muhammad Saman*, Romanized by Aliudin Mahyudin (Jakarta, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1980), p. 70. Cf. at-Tunji (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 95; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 76; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 332; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 216; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 10, p. 188; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Arifin*, vol. 2, p. 341; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 2, p. 664; Qarīb Allāh, *as-Salāsīl adh-Dhahabiyyah*, p. 96.
- 158 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 441.
- 159 See al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuḥat al-Fikar*, vol. 1, pp. 84-6.
- 160 See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 216; Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, pp. vi, 167; al-Hilāh, *Fahras*, pp. 57, 85.
- 161 For further discussion on as-Sammān's influence in the Malay Archipelago see Drewes (d. 1992), G.W.J., "A note on Muhammad al-Sammān, his writings, and 19th century Sammāniyya practices, chiefly in Batavia, according to written data" in *Archipel* (43, 1992), pp. 73-87.
- 162 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 179, 187.
- 163 For 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Maghribī's biography see al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, pp. 332-3; Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, pp. iv, 107, 213; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. I, p. 197, vol. II, p. 1038.
- 164 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 178-9, 187.
- 165 See al-Falimbānī, Muḥyī ad-Dīn, *Hikayat Syekh Muhammad Saman*, pp. 9, 10; Drewes, *Direction for Travellers*, p. 224.
- 166 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 179, 182, 183; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 391.
- 167 See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, pp. vii-x, 210.
- 168 A *zāwiyah*, literally 'corner' or 'nook' is used of the regular meeting place of a *Ṣūfī* order. It may denote a single room or in some case, a mosque with various outbuildings. See Lings, Martin, *A Sufi Saint of the Twentieth Century: Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawī, his Spiritual Heritage and Legacy* (2nd edition, London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1971), p. 13.
- 169 See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, p. 185.
- 170 See Sani, H. Murjani, *Laporan Penelitian Upacara Manaqib Syekh Muhammad Samman AlMadani di Kelurahan Pekapuran Raya Banjarmasin* (Banjarmasin, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Antasari, 1998), p. 14.
- 171 A manuscript copy is said to exist at Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī, no. 2349 *taṣawwuf*. See Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 1205.

- 172 A manuscript copy exists at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, no. 175. See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, p. viii.
- 173 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, pp. 179, 181-2.
- 174 See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, edited Harīdī, p. 3.
- 175 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 183.
- 176 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 182; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 243-4; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 605.
- 177 See Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, p. 97.
- 178 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 3, p. 182.
- 179 See al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, p. 66; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 164.
- 180 For Muḥammad al-Kurdī's biography and works see Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 10, p. 54; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, pp. 124-5; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 101, 102, 459, 483, 485, 520, 535; vol. 2, pp. 697, 828, 870, 902, 1147; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 342; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 129, 257, 345, 423, 456, 617; vol. 2, 113, 157, 168, 204, 367, 543; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 228-30; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 152; at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 55; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 153; al-Ḥabshī, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 155-7, 246; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 42-3; al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 84; Mu'assasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū'at Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, vol. 12, pp. 280-1.
- 181 See Sunbul (d. 1175/1761), Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Muḥammad Sunbul al-Majlā'ī ash-Shāfi'ī al-Makkī, *al-Awā'il as-Sunbuliyyah* (Mecca, Maktabat wa-Maṭb'at an-Nahḍat al-Ḥadīthah, 1401/1980), p. 29.
- 182 See Ghāzī, *Fath al-Qawī*, p. 130; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 56.
- 183 See al-Falimbānī, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, p. 66.
- 184 See al-Ḥabshī, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 156.
- 185 For a list of his works see Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 10, p. 54; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 125; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 56; Mu'assasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū'at Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, vol. 12, pp. 280-1. His *Fatāwā al-Kurdī al-Madani* is said to have been printed in *Qurrat al-'Ayn bi-Fatāwā 'Ulamā' al-Ḥaramayn*, edited by Muḥammad 'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Mālikī (Bogor, Maktabat 'Arafāt, s.a.).
- 186 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 9, 105; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 12, 114; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50.
- 187 For Mushayyakh Bā-'Ubūd's biography see at-Tunjī (ed.), *Tarājim A'yān al-Madīnah*, p. 91; al-Ḥabshī, *'Iqd al-Yawāqūt*, vol. 2, pp. 106-7; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 135-7; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-*

- Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 275; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿĀrifīn*, vol. 1, p. 420; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 312; al-Ḥabshī, ʿAbd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, p. 351; al-Falimbānī, *al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqā*, MSS 2865, fol. 12; Mamdūh, *Iʿlām al-Qāṣī*, p. 51.
- ¹⁸⁸ For his connections in the scholarly networks see al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 9, 105; idem, *al-Arbaʿūn Ḥadīthan*, p. 56; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 12, 114; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, pp. 90, 91; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50; Mamdūh, *Iʿlām al-Qāṣī*, p. 51; Ghāzī, *Faḥ al-Qawī*, pp. 123, 125, 134, 136, 228; al-Fādānī, *Asmāʾ al-Faqīh*, p. 86; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 200; Khān, *Qatf Azhār*, pp. 88, 96, 125; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 272;.
- ¹⁸⁹ See al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 9, 105; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 12, 114; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50.
- ¹⁹⁰ See Mamdūh, *Iʿlām al-Qāṣī*, p. 71.
- ¹⁹¹ Cf. al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 80, 84, 85, 92, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 103, 104, 106, 108, 110, 113, 114, 115, 117, 119, 122, 124, 126, 127, 129, 130, 132, 139, 140; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 7, 9, 13, passim; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 169; vol. 3, pp. 7, 25, 36, 50, 54, 62, 66, 80, 82; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 6; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 502.
- ¹⁹² See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, p. 9; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, pp. 21, 36, 50; at-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 6 footnote.
- ¹⁹³ See Sani, *Laporan Penelitian Upacara Manaqib*, p. 20.
- ¹⁹⁴ See al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, p. 84, idem, *al-Arbaʿūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 72; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 169; vol. 3, p. 62.
- ¹⁹⁵ See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 813.
- ¹⁹⁶ See al-Fādānī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, pp. 115, 116, 117, passim; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 13, 22, 48, 62, 120, passim.
- ¹⁹⁷ See al-Fādānī, *al-Arbaʿūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 72; idem, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 4; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; Mamdūh, *Iʿlām al-Qāṣī*, p. 71; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 53; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 796.
- ¹⁹⁸ See al-Falimbānī, Muḥammad Azharī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jāwī, *Badīʿ az-Zamān Fī Bayān ʿAqāʾid ʿl-ʾImān* (2nd edition, Mecca, al-Maṭbaʿat al-Miriyyah, 1313/1895), p. 118.

- 199 See Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, pp. 36-8.
- 200 See Ghāzī, *Fath al-Qawī*, p. 242.
- 201 Cf. al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, passim; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 5, 7, 9, 13, passim; idem, *Tanwīr al-Baṣīrah*, p. 11; idem, *Waraqāt*, p. 29.
- 202 For evidence of his travel and study in Egypt, see al-Banjārī, Ṣiddīq, *Risālat Shajarah al-Arshadiyah*, pp. 6-7. Cf. Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 173.
- 203 See al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- 204 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 17, 109, 143, 146; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 44, 119, 137, 139; al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, p. 261; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- 205 For Aḥmad al-Mullawī's complete biography, see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 80-3; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 167-71; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, pp. 116-7; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 96, 134, 145, 160, 164, 195, 196, 200, 213, 228, 229, 244, 253, 268, 269, 301, 355, 393, 457, 485, 531; vol. 2, pp. 559-60, 582, 705, 740, 749, 768, 773, 778, 785, 814, 825, 828, 870, 985, 1053, 1071, 1100, 1101, 1112, 1150; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 278; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 234; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 309-10; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 178; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 153; vol. 2, pp. 45, 113, 159, 593; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 58-9; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, pp. 152-3; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār*, p. 32; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 28; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 482.
- 206 However, in another place, Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī also recorded him as Sābiq b. Ramaḍān b. Gharām ar-Ru'aylī. Cf. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, pp. 21-2; *op. cit.*, ed. Ya'qūbī, p. 26; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 785; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 19; al-Aḥdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 247-8; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 536.
- 207 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 81; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 559; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār*, p. 32; al-Tarmasī, *Kifāyat al-Mustafīd*, p. 13.
- 208 See al-Mullawī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Mujīrī [*Thabat*] (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University), MSS 257, fols. 1-26. Cf. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 81; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 117; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 559.

- 209 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 82.
- 210 Perhaps this is the same text that I have consulted. A manuscript copy of 28 pages is said to exist at Makḥṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah. See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, pp. 152-3; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 28.
- 211 A manuscript copy is held by Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, Arabic MSS suppl. 374, 29 fols.
- 212 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 82; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 117; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 560; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 278; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 234; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 309-10; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 178; idem, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 153; vol. 2, pp. 45, 113, 159, 593; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, pp. 152-3; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār*, p. 32; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 28; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 482.
- 213 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 82-3; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, p. 117.
- 214 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 44, 119, 137, 139; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 17, 109, 143, 146.
- 215 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 148; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 140; al-Falimbānī, *Mukhtār*, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- 216 For Aḥmad al-Jawharī's complete biography see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, pp. 22, 30, 111-4; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 1, pp. 98-9; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 254-5; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 78; idem, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 426; vol. 2, p. 584; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 90, 96, 119, 134, 145, 160, 164, 195, 196, 200, 213, 228, 229, 233, 234, 244, 253, 268, 269, 301, 302-3, 355, 424, 457, 483, 485; vol. 2, pp. 582, 589, 680, 705, 739, 768, 773, 781, 785, 828, 850, 870, 1053, 1072, 1103, 1150, 1152; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 308-9; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 59-60; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 193; Sardār, *Bulūgh Amānī al-Abrār*, p. 32; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, p. 112; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Hijāz*, p. 27; Mu'assasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū'at Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, vol. 12, pp. 34-5.
- 217 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 582.
- 218 See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 254; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 302.
- 219 See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 157.
- 220 See Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 34-5.

- 221 See al-Amīr al-Kabīr (d. 1232/1816), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Mālikī al-Azharī, *Thabat Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr* (Egypt, Maṭba'at al-Ma'āhid, 1345/1926), p. 37.
- 222 For a list of his works see al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 303; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 193; Mu'assasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū'at Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā*, vol. 12, p. 35;
- 223 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 140; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 148.
- 224 See Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāṣi*, p. 95; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 303.
- 225 See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 255.
- 226 See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 138; al-Qannūjī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*, p. 363; al-Ḥabshī, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 223-4; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 851; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 164.
- 227 See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 296; vol. 2, p. 309; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 882.
- 228 For Muḥammad al-Jawharī's biography see al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 307-9; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, pp. 1321-4; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 8, p. 250; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, pp. 352-3; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 16; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 199, 229, 303, 377, 406; vol. 2, pp. 785, 796, 844, 845, 985, 1128, 1147; Mardam Beyk (d. 1378/1959), Khalīl, *A'yān al-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar Fī 'l-Fikr wa 's-Siyāsah wa 'l-Ijtimā'*, edited by 'Adnān Mardam Beyk (2nd edition, Beirut, Mu'assasat ar-Risālah, 1977), p. 161; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 744.
- 229 See al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, p. 1323; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, p. 104.
- 230 See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 307-8.
- 231 See al-Banjārī (d. 1245/1829), Muḥammad Nafīs b. Idrīs b. al-Ḥusayn al-Jāwī, *ad-Durr an-Nafīs Fī Bayān Wāḥidat al-Af'āl wa 'l-Asmā' wa 's-Ṣifāt wa 'dh-Dhāt* (Pulau Pinang, Percetakan Almuarif Sdn. Bhd., s.a.), p. 25.
- 232 For a list of his works see al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, pp. 1323-4; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 16; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 8, p. 250; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, pp. 352-3; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 14, 15, 18, 347, 420, 434, 449, 453, 587, 591; vol. 2, pp. 116, 411, 469, 592, 694; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 744.
- 233 See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, p. 309.
- 234 Al-Kharibtāwī is an ascription to 'Kharibtā' of al-Buḥayrah in Egypt. See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 16.

- 235 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 50, 117-8; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 18, 114-5.
- 236 For Dāwūd al-Kharibtāwī's complete biography see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 227; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 209-10; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 92, 532; vol. 2, p. 773; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 222; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, pp. 1408-11.
- 237 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 18; idem, *al-Wāfī*, p. 50.
- 238 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 115.
- 239 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 227; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 92.
- 240 See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 209-10.
- 241 See al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, pp. 1408-11; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 107-8.
- 242 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 120, 136; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 123, 133; al-Falimbānī, *Mukhtār, Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- 243 For 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Aydārūs's complete biography see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 95-9; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 367-93; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 363-4; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, pp. 330-1; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 5, pp. 195-6; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 134, 200, 254, 258, 259, 263, 447, 450, 526, 532, 538; vol. 2, pp. 559, 586, 690, 697, 727, 739-42, 785, 793, 870, 914, 1129, 1142, 1161; al-Aḥdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 231-9; Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, pp. 50-6; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 338; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 153; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 247-9; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 47-50; al-Baghdādī, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 177, 18, 182, 207, 233, 283, 284, 291, 296, 321, 332, 382, 390, 401, 545, 573, 574, 576, 579; vol. 2, pp. 98, 106, 164, 167, 1771, 236, 459, 469, 513, 622, 624, 662, 668, 669, 670, 691; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, pp. 102-3; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 57; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuzhat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, pp. 112-22; al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, pp. 76, 160, 190, 354, 397, 451, 528, 588; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 478-9.
- 244 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 446-7.
- 245 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 368-9; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 363.
- 246 See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 363; al-Fādānī, *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, p. 77; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 57.

- 247 See al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn Ḥadīthan*, p. 56; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 132; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'ālī*, p. 48.
- 248 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 370-1.
- 249 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 371, 393; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 364.
- 250 See Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'ālī*, p. 48; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 372-3; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 364; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, p. 331.
- 251 For a list of his works see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 390-2; Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, pp. 53-4; al-Baghdādī, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 177, 18, 182, 207, 233, 283, 284, 291, 296, 321, 332, 382, 390, 401, 545, 573, 574, 576, 579; vol. 2, pp. 98, 106, 164, 167, 1771, 236, 459, 469, 513, 622, 624, 662, 668, 669, 670, 691; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 338; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 153; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 5, pp. 195-6; al-Ḥaḍrāwī, *Nuḥḥat al-Fikar*, vol. 2, pp. 116-7; Muḥī' ar-Raḥmān, *al-Faḥras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 1193; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 478-9.
- 252 See al-'Aydārūs (d. 1193/1779), 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muṣṭafā at-Tarīmī al-Miṣrī, *Laṭā'if al-Jūd fī Mas'alat Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, edited by 'Abd al-Laṭīf Muḥammad al-'Abd (1st edition, Cairo, Dār al-Naḥḍah al-'Arabiyyah, 1397/1977).
- 253 See al-'Aydārūs, *Fayḍat an-Nafaḥāt Fī Mas'alat aṣ-Ṣifāt*, edited by 'Abd al-Laṭīf Muḥammad al-'Abd (1st edition, Cairo, Dār al-Naḥḍah al-'Arabiyyah, 1397/1977).
- 254 See Mach, *Catalog of Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 249.
- 255 See al-Batāwī (d. 1331/1913), 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Aqīl b. Yaḥyā al-'Alawī al-Jāwī, *as-Silsilat an-Nabawiyyah fī Asānīd as-Sādat al-'Alawiyyah ilā Jaddihim al-Muṣṭafā Khayr al-Bariyyah* (Batavia, s.n., 1301/1884), p. 2.
- 256 See al-Amīr al-Kabīr, *Thabat al-Amīr al-Kabīr*, p. 37; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 2, p. 331; vol. 3, pp. 214-5; al-Fādānī, *Iṭḥāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 51.
- 257 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 392-3.
- 258 See al-Kattānī, *Faḥras al-Faḥāris*, vol. 2, p. 690; al-Fādānī, *Iṭḥāf al-Ikhwān*, pp. 102-3; Abū Ghuddāh, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 483.
- 259 See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, pp. 112, 192.
- 260 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 369.
- 261 On the account of his travel to the Archipelago, see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 369; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p.

- 58; Voll, John Obert, "The foundations of the modern experience: revival and reform in the eighteenth century," in his *Islam Continuity and Change in the Modern World* (Colorado, Westview Press Inc., 1982), p. 72.
- 262 See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 302.
- 263 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, p. 45; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 14.
- 264 See al-Ḥabshī, 'Abd Allāh, *Maṣādir al-Fikr al-Islāmī*, p. 529; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 371.
- 265 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 120, 136; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 123, 133.
- 266 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 52, 128, 137; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 70, 130, 133, 134; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- 267 For Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī's complete biography and works see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 9-37; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 803-8 (his autobiography); al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 73-80; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, pp. 1492-516; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 11, pp. 282-3; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, pp. 347-8; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 15, 18, 19, 31, 55, 78, 101, 120, 130, 167, 174, 192, 210, 284, 298, 300, 316, 325, 329, 380, 398, 405, 414, 574, 5775, 579, 580, 581; vol. 2, pp. 45, 99, 105, 117, 240, 252, 362, 365, 408, 464, 469, 533, 576, 601, 648, 670, 682, 725; Zabārah, *Nashr al-'Urf*, vol. 2, pp. 21-9; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, pp. 239-52; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, pp. 297-8; al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, pp. 11-24; al-Ḥabshī, *Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 83-90, 250-1; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 82, 88, 92, 98, 102, 175, 210, 229, 238, 332, 377, 453, 526-43; vol. 2, 549, 559, 600, 685, 712, 727, 752, passim; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, pp. 97-102; idem, *Ithāf al-Ṭālib as-Sirrī*, pp. 81-5; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 398-9; idem, "Muḥammad Murtaḍā," *EF*, vol. VII, p. 445.
- 268 In Professor Ahmad Shboul's opinion.
- 269 See al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 23; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 803.
- 270 See al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 76-7.
- 271 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 528.
- 272 See al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 23. Cf. Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Mu'jam Shuyūkhīhi aṣ-Ṣagīr*, p. 778.
- 273 See al-Fādānī, *Nahj as-Salāmāh*, p. 70.
- 274 See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 240.
- 275 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, pp. 20, 42-4, 65-6; *op. cit.*, ed. Ya'qūbī, pp. 53-6; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 793-4; al-

- Hāfiz, *‘Ulamā’ Dimashq Fī ‘l-Qarn ath-Thālith ‘Ashar*, vol. 1, pp. 125-9; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, pp. 51, 71, 87, 98; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, pp. 23, 24, 25, 34, passim; as-Sindī, *Ḥaṣr ash-Shārid*, vol. 1, pp. 132, 137, 302.
- ²⁷⁶ See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, p. 537. For a complete list of his teachers see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu’jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*; idem, *Mu’jam Shuyūkhīhi aṣ-Ṣagīr*; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*.
- ²⁷⁷ See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 70, 130, 133, 134; idem, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 52, 128, 137.
- ²⁷⁸ See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu’jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 803.
- ²⁷⁹ See al-Qannūjī, *Abjad al-‘Ulūm*, vol. 3, p. 23; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. ‘Azūz, p. 15.
- ²⁸⁰ For a complete list of his works see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu’jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 803-8; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ‘Ajā’ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, pp. 78-9; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘Ārifīn*, vol. 2, pp. 347-8; idem, *Idāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 15, 18, 19, 31, 55, 78, 101, 120, 130, 167, 174, 192, 210, 284, 298, 300, 316, 325, 329, 380, 398, 405, 414, 574, 5775, 579, 580, 581; vol. 2, pp. 45, 99, 105, 117, 240, 252, 362, 365, 408, 464, 469, 533, 576, 601, 648, 670, 682, 725; Muḥī’ ar-Raḥmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, vol. 3, pp. 1161, 1162, 1169, 1193; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, pp. 398-9.
- ²⁸¹ See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 537-9.
- ²⁸² See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu’jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 795-6; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. ‘Azūz, p. 42.
- ²⁸³ See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-‘Arūs al-Majliyyah fī Asānīd al-Ḥadīth al-Musalsal bi ‘l-Awwaliyyah* (1st edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1421/2000), p. 46. Cf. idem, *al-Mu’jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, p. 796; al-Mashāṭ (d. 1399/1979), Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abbas al-Makkī, *al-Irshād bi-Dhikri Ba‘d mā-lī min ‘l-Ijāzat wa ‘l-Isnād* (1st edition, Cairo, Maṭba‘at al-Madānī, 1386/1966), p. 7; ash-Shaḥārī, ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘īd Muḥammad ‘Ubādī al-Laḥjī al-Ḥaḍramī, *I‘ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah ‘Alā Jam‘a Tarājim al-Ḥadīth al-Musalsal Bi ‘l-Awwaliyyah* (1st edition, Cairo, Maṭba‘at al-Madānī, 1386/1966), p. 53.
- ²⁸⁴ See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 249; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh ‘Ajā’ib al-Āthār*, vol. 2, p. 74. Both authors were his contemporaries.
- ²⁸⁵ See al-Fādānī, *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 63, 75, 135; idem, *al-Arba‘ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 66; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11; idem, *al-Wāfī*, pp. 87, 133; idem, *Nahj as-Salāmah*, p. 21; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

- 286 For 'Alī al-Wanā'ī's complete biography see al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, 89, 201, 213, 214, 215, 229, 393, 486, 539; vol. 2, pp. 739, 796, 813, 844, 845, 903, 904, 906, 943, 960, 1073, 1075, 1114-6; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 4, p. 298; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 71-83, 90-106, 108-116, 118-20; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 210; al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, p. 24; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 7, p. 117; al-Hilāh, *at-Tārikh wa 'l-Mu'arrikhūn Bi-Makkah*, pp. 408-9; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf at-Ṭālib as-Sirrī*, pp. 67-9; ash-Shaḥārī, *I'ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah*, pp. 25-8.
- 287 See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 73-4, 90-1, 93, 118; ash-Shaḥārī, *I'ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah*, p. 26.
- 288 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1114.
- 289 See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 74; ash-Shaḥārī, *I'ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah*, p. 26.
- 290 See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 101-4.
- 291 See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 72-3; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 960, 1075, 1115; al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, pp. 34-5; al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 30; idem, *Ithāf al-Bararah*, p. 27; ash-Shaḥārī, *I'ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah*, p. 27.
- 292 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 903, 1073, 1115-16; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 111; al-Fādānī, *Asānid al-Faqīh*, pp. 109, 110.
- 293 See ash-Shaḥārī, *I'ānat Rabb al-Bariyyah*, p. 28; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1115.
- 294 See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 111-2.
- 295 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1115; al-Fullānī, *Īqāz Himam*, p. ii; al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, p. 24.
- 296 For a complete list of his works see al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 115; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 4, p. 298; al-Baghdādī, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 478, 620; vol. 2, p. 575; idem, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 1, p. 770; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 56; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 7, p. 117; Muṭī' ar-Raḥmān, *al-Fahras al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 3, p. 1268; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 424.
- 297 See al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 66.
- 298 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 87, 104, 132-3; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 63, 75, 134-4; idem, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 66; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 11.
- 299 See al-Falimbānī, *Mukhtār, Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.

- 300 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 22; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 51; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- 301 For Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār's biography see al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, pp. 21-2; idem, *Intikhāb al-'Awālī wa 'sh-Shuyūkh al-Akhyār min Fahāris Shaykhinā al-Imām al-Musnid al-'Aṭṭār* (1st edition, Damascus, Dār al-Fikr; Beirut, Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'āṣir, 1414/1994), pp. 12-4; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 36-9; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 125-134; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 1, pp. 26, 239-41; Mardām Beyk, *A'yān al-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar*, pp. 30-2; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 89, 99, 100, 122, 131, 133, 160, 171, 201, 215, 229, 303, 475, 486, 487, 511; vol. 2, pp. 560, 622, 662, 671, 754, 796, 827-9, 840, 844, 870, 903, 941, 1061, 1078, 1151; ash-Shaṭṭī, *Rawḍ al-Bashar*, pp. 33-6; idem, *A'yān Dimashq*, pp. 44-7; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 1, p. 166; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 307; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-lkhwān*, p. 94; idem, *Ithāf at-Tālib as-Sirrī*, pp. 60-2; al-Ḥāfiẓ, *'Ulamā' Dimashq fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar*, pp. 115-149.
- 302 See al-Kuzbarī, *Intikhāb al-'Awālī*, pp. 18, 20.
- 303 See al-'Aṭṭār (d. 1218/1803), Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd b. 'Abd Allāh ash-Shāfi'ī ad-Dimashqī, *Thabat al-'Aṭṭār* (The Houghton Library, MS Arab 115), fols. 1-8. Cf. al-Ḥāfiẓ, *'Ulamā' Dimashq fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar*, vol. 1, pp. 131-49.
- 304 For a good recent study on 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī see Akkach, Samer, *'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi: Islam and the Enlightenment* (Oxford, Oneworld Publications, 2007).
- 305 See al-'Aṭṭār, *Thabat al-'Aṭṭār*, fol. 4.
- 306 See al-Kuzbarī, *Intikhāb al-'Awālī*, pp. 28-44; idem, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, pp. 21-2; al-Ḥāfiẓ, *'Ulamā' Dimashq fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar*, vol. 1, pp. 122-47.
- 307 See Ibn 'Ābidīn, *'Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 37-9.
- 308 However, I did not find any evidence that Aḥmad and his student 'Umar were related though they both carry the same family name, al-'Aṭṭār.
- 309 See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 125-7, 146, 149; al-Fādānī, *an-Nafāhat al-Miskiyyah*, p. 52.
- 310 See al-Falimbānī, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, vol. 4, p. 267.
- 311 See Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, pp. 35-44; al-Ḥāfiẓ, *'Ulamā' Dimashq fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar*, vol. 1, pp. 122-9, 136; al-Kuzbarī, *Thabat al-Kuzbarī*, p. 29; idem, *Intikhāb al-'Awālī*, p. 33.

- 312 See ash-Shaṭṭī, *Rawḍ al-Bashar*, pp. 35-6; idem, *A'yān Dimashq*, pp. 46-7; al-Bakrī, *Fayḍ al-Malik al-Wahhāb*, vol. 1, p. 384; al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 1, pp. 462-3.
- 313 See al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 1, p. 241.
- 314 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 51; idem, *al-Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 22.
- 315 See al-Fādānī, *al-Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 49, 125; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 70, 125; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- 316 For Muḥammad as-Saffārīnī's biography see Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, pp. 23, 32, 156-9; idem, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 642-7; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, pp. 47-8; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 324-6; al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 130; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 1002-5; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 8, p. 262; Ibn 'Ābidīn, *Uqūd al-La'ālī*, pp. 62-7; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 340; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 14; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, pp. 103-4; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Ḥijāz*, p. 38; Mu'assasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū'at Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, vol. 12, pp. 257-8.
- 317 See as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 171-94; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 47; Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 642-4; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 324-5; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, p. 330.
- 318 See as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 42-53, 107-14.
- 319 See as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 173-5.
- 320 See as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 193-4; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 325.
- 321 See al-Fādānī, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 18; idem, *Ithāf al-Ikhwān*, p. 104; idem, *an-Nafaḥat al-Miskiyyah*, pp. 24, 25; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 64; as-Sanūsī, *Musnid al-Ḥijāz*, p. 38.
- 322 See az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 646-7; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 325.
- 323 See az-Zabīdī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, pp. 646-7; idem, *Alfiyyat as-Sanad*, ed. 'Azūz, pp. 23, 32; as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 91-194, 205-88.
- 324 For a list of his works see as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, pp. 68-70; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 4, p. 47; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 6, p. 14; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Mustafid*, p. 32; idem, *an-Nafaḥat al-Miskiyyah*, p. 26; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 1002-3; al-Jabartī, *Tārīkh 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, vol. 1, p. 325; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn*, vol. 2, p. 340; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, pp. 29, 167, 230, 262, 266, 297, 346,

- 372, 451, 468; vol. 2, pp. 98, 142, 226, 412, 503, 576, 619; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 8, p. 262; Mu'assasat al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, *Mawsū'at Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, vol. 12, p. 258.
- 325 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 49, 125; idem, *al-Wāfi*, pp. 70, 125.
- 326 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 123; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 34, 120; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 1, p. 170.
- 327 For 'Umar al-Armanāzī's biography and works see al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, pp. 176-7; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, vol. 7, p. 292; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lam*, vol. 5, p. 51; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifin*, vol. 1, p. 798; idem, *Īdāh al-Maknūn*, vol. 1, p. 84.
- 328 See al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, p. 176.
- 329 See az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lam*, vol. 5, p. 51; al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, p. 177.
- 330 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 123; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 120.
- 331 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 120; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 72.
- 332 Al-'Aqīlī is an ascription (*nisbah*) to his progenitor, a renowned Saint and *al-Qutb*, Shaykh 'Aqīl al-Manbajī. See his father, 'Uthmān al-'Aqīlī's biography in al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, pp. 147-8.
- 333 See al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, p. 147.
- 334 For Muḥammad al-'Aqīlī's biography and connections in the networks see al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-Bashar*, vol. 3, p. 1298; ash-Shaṭṭī, *A'yān Dimashq*, p. 254; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 738, 984, 985, 1077; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 20; al-Mālikī, *Fihrist*, p. 34.
- 335 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1076.
- 336 See al-Murādī, *Salk ad-Durar*, vol. 3, p. 147.
- 337 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 738, 984, 985, 1077.
- 338 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 738, 985; al-Fādānī, *Asānīd al-Faqīh*, p. 20; idem, *al-'Ujūlah*, p. 87; al-Mālikī, *Fihrist*, p. 34.
- 339 See al-Fādānī, *Itḥāf al-Bararah*, p. 12.
- 340 See pp. 22, 100.
- 341 It is worth noting that many modern studies transliterate this work as *Silk ad-Durar fī A'yān al-Qarn at-Thānī 'Ashar*. However, from the Arabic verb *aslaka*, *yusliku*, *salkan*, which means to thread, I consider the transliteration *Salk ad-Durar* (the threading of pearls) to be more appropriate thus, adopting it throughout my writing. Cf. Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 115; Bruinessen, Martin van, "Kurdish 'Ulama and their Indonesian Disciples," a revised version of: "The impact of Kurdish 'ulama on Indonesian Islam," *Les annales de l'autre Islam* (5, 1998), pp. 83-106; idem, "A Note on Source Materials," p. 66.

- 342 See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 115.
- 343 See as-Saffārīnī, *Thabat al-Imām as-Saffārīnī*, p. 320; Mamdūh, *I'lām al-Qāsi*, pp. 42, 46, 55, 97; al-Fādānī, *al-Arba'ūn al-Buldāniyyah*, p. 51; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 24; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 74; idem, *al-'Ujālah*, p. 87; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 36; al-Mālikī, *Fihrist*, p. 34.
- 344 See al-Fādānī, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 8; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 12; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50.
- 345 For Aḥmad al-Hilālī's biography and works see Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, pp. 275-6, vol. 13, p. 361; al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 120, 169, 173, 175, 184, 188, 224, 226, 227, 228, 259, 263, 352, 354, 403, 413; vol. 2, pp. 771, 812, 813, 848, 875, 899, 981, 982, 983, 1049, 1050, 1071, 1099-102, 1162; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Arifīn*, vol. 1, p. 176; idem, *Idāh*, vol. 1, pp. 546, 615; vol. 2, 684; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, pp. 490-1; Brockelmann, *GAL (S)*, vol. II, p. 390.
- 346 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 169, 175, 184, 259; vol. 2, pp. 812, 813, 848, 1049, 1050, 1100, 1162; al-Fādānī, *Ithāf al-Mustafīd*, p. 37; idem, *al-Wāfi*, p. 12; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, pp. 8-9; idem, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, pp. 49, 67; aḡ-Zāhirī, *Husnu 'l-Wafā*, p. 7.
- 347 See Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 275.
- 348 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 1100.
- 349 See al-Fādānī, *Fayḍ al-Mubdī*, p. 67.
- 350 See Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, vol. 1, p. 275.
- 351 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, p. 875.
- 352 A manuscript copy of his *Asānīd Abī al-'Abbās al-Hilālī* is kept at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 4 *majāmi'* shīn, fols. 64-95, while his *Fahrasat al-Hilālī* contains 9 fols. See al-Fādānī, *ar-Rawḍ al-Fā'iḥ*, ed. Yūsuf al-Mar'ashlī, p. 161; Abū Ghuddah, *Imdād al-Fattāh*, pp. 490-1.
- 353 See al-Fādānī, *al-Wāfi*, p. 12; idem, *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, p. 8; al-Falimbānī, Mukhtār, *Bulūgh al-Amānī*, vol. 3, p. 50.
- 354 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 1, pp. 403, 1101, 1102.
- 355 See Abdullah, *al-'Urwatul Wutsqa*, p. 41 footnote; idem, *Syeikh Abdus Samad*, pp. 33, 39. For further information on 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Faṭānī's life account see Abdullah, *al-Ma'rifah: Pelbagai Aspek Tasawuf di Nusantara* (2 vols., Kuala Lumpur, Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2004), vol. 2, pp. 204-23; idem, *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam*, vol. 3, pp. 11-12; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 6, pp. 27-39; Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 12.
- 356 See Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 33; idem, *Penyebaran Islam*, vol. 10, p. 51.
- 357 See Heer, *A Concise Handlist*, p. 28; Abdullah, *Wawasan Pemikiran Islam*, vol. 5, p. 95.